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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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23 APRIL 1987

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## DJIBOUTI

### BRIEFS

ROBLEH'S MNDID ISSUES COMMUNIQUE--The Mouvement National Djiboutien pour l'Instauration de la Democratie issued its first official communique on February 11. The MNDID, led by former trade minister Aden Robleh Awaleh, said it would attach "no worth" to presidential and legislative elections to be held on April 24. It also said Djibouti could only emerge from crisis under three conditions: the end of the single party system, a government of "public safety" and a constitution "which guarantees fundamental liberties and a true liberal democracy." [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 21 Feb 87 p 5] /9317

CSO: 3400/495

## ETHIOPIA

### BRIEFS

**COFFEE EXPORTS RISE**--Ethiopia exported 73,190 tonnes of coffee in the year from October 1985 to September 1986, a 6.1 percent rise in sales over the previous year but still 22 percent lower than 97,894 tonnes sold abroad in the 1983-84 season. The value of the exports was 345.5 million dollars, a rise of 63 percent over the 1984-85 revenues by reason of the surge in coffee prices on the world market. According to figures released by the Ethiopian tea and coffee ministry, the main purchasers of the country's coffee were West Germany (35.5 percent), West Germany (20.2 percent), Japan (7.9 percent) and the Soviet Union (6.4 percent). Coffee now accounts for 60 percent of the country's export revenue, and the industry employs directly or indirectly 25 percent of the population. The villagisation programme being implemented in Harrargue and Shoa provinces, the two main coffee-growing regions, is bound to speed up the process of collectivising its cultivation which has previously been essentially on a family basis. The areas where drought victims have been resettled are also chiefly located in coffee-growing regions. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 21 Feb 87 p 7] /9317

**NEGOTIATIONS WITH EPLF RUMORED**--The guns are not completely silent in Eritrea, and minor confrontations continue, such as the one at Akele Guzay, 80 kilometres south of Asmara early this month. Even so there has been a marked fall in the conflict's intensity since November 1985, when after retaking Barentu and Tessenei in the west, and Mersa Teklei in the northeast from the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, the Ethiopian army failed in its efforts to take the bastion of Nakfa. The EPLF said 4,500 regular government troops were put out of action and the best equipped of the army's divisions, the 18th, was annihilated. Since then, apart from the shelling of Massawa by the Eritreans last May and a seemingly abortive commando raid on the airbase at Asmara on August 31, only a few skirmishes have been reported. This return to relative inactivity has given rise to rumours of new negotiations between Addis Ababa and the EPLF. The latest edition of the publication of the EPLF's external relations bureau in Paris, Adulis, states that "a peaceful solution of the Eritrean question remains the prime objective of the Eritrean people." It again urges the Ethiopian government to abandon the military option and reiterates the EPLF position on negotiations, i.e. that any renewed contacts between the two sides should take place in the presence of a third party and be made public. I.O.N.--Ethiopian and Soviet preparations for a new offensive in Eritrea, reported



by the EPLF last April, did not result in further fighting. Today Eritrean guerrilla leaders consider that the Soviet Union does not want to become further involved militarily in Ethiopia (particularly as Moscow has got what it wanted, namely the creation of a Marxist-Leninist ruling party and the imminent proclamation of a people's republic). Under these circumstances one cannot perhaps rule out the possibility that both the Soviet and Ethiopian governments are looking for a political solution. The EPLF is in the process of preparing for its second congress (the first was held in January 1977) which could take place before the end of the year. The question of war or peace may well be its principal theme. [Text] [Paris  
THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 21 Feb 87 p 4] /9317

CSO: 3400/495

MALAWI

OFFICIAL: NO NEED TO SIGN SECURITY PACT WITH ZIMBABWE, TANZANIA

MB270745 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0552 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] Johannesburg, Mar 27 SAPA--A senior Malawi Government official, Mr John Tembo, said Malawi has no need to sign security agreements with Tanzania or Zimbabwe as it did with Mozambique in December last year.

SABC radio news reported Mr Tembo said in Lilongwe that Malawi was on good terms with Tanzania and Zimbabwe and cooperated with them on security matters.

Mr Tembo signed the security agreement with Mozambique on his country's behalf.

In terms of the agreement, Malawi agreed to send troops to Mozambique to protect the railway line which links Malawi with the port of Nacala from attacks by the Renamo warned Malawi not to send troops to Mozambique. A Renamo spokesman said in Lisbon the movement engaged in limited operations in the Nacala area because there were no foreign troops there. If Malawian soldiers were sent there, he said, the area would become a target like the Beira Corridor.

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/8309

CSO: 3400/485

MALAWI

## MOZAMBIQUE TRANSPORT DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR TALKS

### Guebuza Leads Delegation

MB011723 Blantyre Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 1 Apr 87

[Text] A five-man Mozambican delegation led by the minister of transport and communications, Mr Armando Guebuza, arrived in Malawi today for a 5-day official visit. Mr Guebuza told newsmen on arrival in Lilongwe, that his delegation will hold talks with officials of the Malawi Ministry of Transport and Communications on transport issues, including possible solutions to the troubled-Beira and Nacala railway links to Malawi.

### Ministers Discuss Railway

MB020608 Blantyre Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Text] The minister of transport and communications, Mr Edward Bwanali, has said Malawi is fully committed to the ideals of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference, SADCC, and will do its best to ensure SADCC goals and objectives are fully attained. Mr Bwanali was speaking in Blantyre last night at a reception organized in honor of the visiting Mozambican delegation led by the minister of transport and communications, Mr Armando Guebuza.

In his speech, Mr Bwanali said both Mozambique and Malawi suffered from colonialism and, as such, the countries should work together to improve the standard of living of their people. The minister pointed out that Malawi, being a landlocked country, relies upon the ports of Nacala and Beira for its imports and exports. He added that Malawi appreciates the assistance rendered to her with the use of these ports, which (?help landlocked) Malawi. Mr Bwanali said it was therefore necessary that routes to Beira and Nacala operate (?efficiently).

In reply, Mozambique's transport and communications minister, Mr Guebuza, said his country wants to make sure that views and experiences on transportation be intensified to enable Malawi to make full use of the Nacala railway line for her imports and exports because it is a lifeline of Malawi's economic endeavors.

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CSO: 3400/485

## BRIEFS

NEW POLICE BOSS--We hear of the resignation of Inspector-General of Police Mac Kamwana. Still only 51, he had been police chief since 1971. His premature retirement, officially on account of his age, was the result of in-fighting in ruling circles, and not because Kamwana had been shot as is being rumoured. In December 1985 there was already pressure on Kamwana to resign along with Cabinet Secretary John Ngwiri. Kamwana is replaced by his former deputy L.G. Ngwata. Ngwata has done well to fight his way to the top of the police after being demoted and sent to a remote northern command following the abduction from Zambia of Orton and Vera Chirwa in 1981. Assistant Commissioner Longwe remains head of the feared Criminal Investigation Department. The change is being interpreted as a blow for strongman John Tembo, the favourite to succeed President Hastings Kamuzu Banda (AC Vol 27 No 18). Kamwana tended to side with Tembo in political disputes out of mutual antipathy towards the army chiefs. Unlike his predecessor, Ngwata does not appear to owe Tembo any favours. [Text] [London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 4 Feb 87 p 8] /9317

CSO: 3400/472

CHISSANO DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, REGIONAL ISSUES

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6, 1987 No 1 pp 10, 12, 14

[Interview with President Joaquim Chissano by Hugh Murray and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert in Maputo; date not given]

[Text]

*President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique leads a country which has officially been slated as the world's poorest. The Frelimo dream of Marxist well-being has turned into a nightmare of poverty unprecedented even on the African continent. The economic predicament of Mozambicans is, perhaps, best characterised by the soap ration available to each citizen: one kg per person annually.*

*But there is other more tragic evidence of the country's ill health. The derelict port of Maputo, with a capacity of 12 million tons per year, managed, during 1986, to scrape together some 2 million tons, 800 000 tons of it being "dirty" cargo from South Africa.*

*Stories are legend of the hospitals crammed with people mutilated physically and spiritually by Renamo, the resistance movement known to the Frelimo government and its supporters as "the bandits". There can be little doubt that Renamo is having a devastating effect on the territory, and although Chissano and his aides deny strenuously that the rebel movement represents any threat to the authorities, it is certainly laying waste the rural areas of Mozambique. Nearly 50% of all produce generated by Mozambique's rural peasants on State farms, for example, is destroyed before it can be turned into cash.*

*The only new motor cars available in Mozambique are small Soviet models bought over 10 years at an absurdly low rate of interest. There is simply no foreign exchange available to buy vehicles on any other basis, and a motor car industry is something that Mozambique cannot sustain.*

*It is easy for a disciple of the free enterprise system to blame Mozambique's economic downfall on its Marxist-Leninist approach to government. There are obvious shortcomings to be laid at the door of Mozambique's ideologues, but the country has been at war non-stop for 23 years. Every attempt by President Chissano to attract foreign investment, even with guarantees of repatriated dividends, is confounded by the security situation and his inability to guarantee the safety of industrial projects.*

*The cynics would say that Frelimo started the process in its war against colonial Portugal. That is also too simple.*

*Frelimo and its leaders argue strongly that much of its current condition is directly attributable to the policy of destabilisation it alleges is orchestrated from Pretoria. They point to the Gorongosa Documents (the Vaz Diaries) which contain detailed accounts of South Africa's contact with Renamo rebels. Some of the evidence seems to be compelling, although high-placed Mozambicans' insistence that the fatal aircraft accident of President Samora Machel and 33 others was the result of a South African conspiracy, does tend to put this discussion on a level of high emotion and often unsubstantiated accusation.*

*Chissano was the logical choice to succeed the ebullient Samora Machel. Accomplished diplomat and a reputed pragmatist, he has been chosen to lead his country when its fortunes are at their lowest ebb. Fluent in English and several other languages (unlike his predecessor), Chissano appears easy going and informal, if somewhat reserved.*

*Those who know him believe that in spite of his Marxist convictions he will encourage a mixed economy and closer ties with South Africa. It is perhaps indicative of his approach that he has not (yet) joined the call of his Frontline colleagues for sanctions to be imposed against South Africa.*

*Leadership Publisher and Editor, Hugh Murray, and former Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, spent three and a half hours with Chissano at his Maputo headquarters and found him to be a man of dignity and conviction. He lacks the robust approach that comes from years in office, but he deals with the issues of Southern Africa in a forthright manner. David Goldblatt took the photographs.*

**What is your view of the key issues in Southern Africa, with particular reference to the Republic of South Africa?**

I think the Frontline States want only one thing: to create a situation of freedom for all in the region. This has been the struggle in Africa, which has culminated in liberation for everyone, except Namibia from colonialism, and South Africa from apartheid. The Frontline States are interested in achieving these things.

Together with South Africa's neighbouring states, the Frontline States make up the nine countries of SADCC. The aim of these countries *vis-a-vis* South Africa is to create a situation of fair interdependence. We talk about decreasing dependence on South Africa, but we acknowledge South Africa as a neighbour. By interdependence we do not want a situation in which one country becomes a policeman of the others; particularly a country with economic supremacy which utilises its position to suppress, or dictate to, other countries. We want relations of equality. Of course there are countries which are richer than others, but when it comes to relations between states, you must have some sort of equality.

We have to look at the reciprocity of interests, and not utilise economic or military might to squeeze others, or suppress them, as the South African government is doing. You can see what is happening in Angola, you can see what is happening in our country. In our dialogue the South African regime waves a very strong finger and says: "Do this, or else. Do that, or else". We want to change this state of affairs through contact with international forums and through dialogue with South Africa. We are trying to

make them understand that all we want is change in the South African system.

We are not afraid of being called interferers in the internal affairs of South Africa. This has ceased to be an internal affair. Apartheid is like slavery, which was never an internal problem of any country. Slavery was condemned by the world and the whole world had to fight against it. Today, apartheid has replaced slavery in this context. Apart from this, we don't care what system (of government) South Africa follows. We would like to see a united South Africa, in whatever form it might take. But we don't believe in the concept of tribes. Maybe Mozambique has more tribes than South Africa, but here we have a unitary country. We have achieved this unity in spite of colonialism. We would like peace, and conditions in which we are able to utilise the wealth of the region for the benefit of all. For that matter, for the benefit of Africa and the world. We are a rich region.

**You talked about South Africa's military might. To what extent is that military might influencing the affairs of your country at the moment?**

Thanks to the Nkomati agreement the South African government hesitates to utilise (military power) against our country. They utilise it just as a warning and a threat, but the threats are constant and frequent. The last threat we received in January. The

message was: if we gave them the minimum pretext, they would use it to attack our country. Indirectly, South Africa, at least up to the month of December, has supported the terrorists who are acting to destabilise our economy.

This is how South Africa is using its might against our country. We have minimised this intervention through the Nkomati Accord and by the contact we established with them.

**You say "until December". Does that imply that at the moment there is no direct South African involvement in Renamo, and that their assistance has been cut off?**

We speak about facts. I have facts up to December. From January I have no facts.

That does not mean that they are not doing it, but I normally don't say things which have no base.

**Is the continued existence of Renamo a major obstacle to good relations between South Africa and Mozambique?**

I think our country has maintained relations with South Africa in spite of the help South Africa was giving to Renamo – military help, and material help. But it is South Africa which is doing the contrary: decreasing the utilisation of common infrastructures; taking economic measures against Mozambique and decreasing the use of our labour force in South Africa, although they need this labour force and have no economic reasons to decrease it. They have decreased use of our railways and harbours. It is South Africa which is creating problems.

**Did you think that, after Nkomati, you would get renewed investment and increased trade from South Africa? And if so, are you very disappointed?**

There were expectations about that. In that sense, I can say, yes, we are disappointed with the South African government. But don't take this as saying that we are disappointed at the signing of the Nkomati agreement. We think it was a good thing to do. We still think it was a good thing that we did it, and that is why we are maintaining the Nkomati agreement.

**What exactly is the status of the Nkomati agreement? It seems to be an agreement which is more referred to as a broken promise, than an act of good relationships between the two countries.**

Nkomati had the impact of restricting the actions of South Africa against our country, in the sense that they do not dare to attack Mozambique directly using their forces, although they are constantly looking for pretexts on which they could justify such an attack. The Nkomati Accord brought us the benefit of their power being understood by the rest of the world. The world understood our good faith. The world understood that we want peace. Therefore, the world understood that it is South Africa that is the cause of disturbance and destabilisation in the region. Since we signed the Nkomati agreement, sympathy for us has increased to such an extent that you have countries, like

Great Britain, accepting the need for military co-operation with Mozambique to fight the armed bandits who are supported by South Africa. Today we have a good understanding even from the White House. President Machel was able to visit Washington and gain the sympathy of President Reagan. You have a new attitude from the American community towards apartheid, and all of this started with the Nkomati agreement. So it brought something. The Nkomati agreement is a document to which we refer when we point to the mistakes, or let us say, the crimes of South Africa. If there was no Nkomati agreement I think that some, in the West, would forget the sins of South Africa.

**You talk about international sympathy. What about international sympathy for the African National Congress (ANC)? Do you think this factor will become significant enough to allow the ANC to continue its activities from Mozambique without any serious threat of aggression from South Africa?**

We signed the Nkomati agreement and accepted that we would not allow the ANC to use Mozambique to launch any military offensive against South Africa. Not that we were, at the time, allowing them to do so. We were busy negotiating with them before the Accord. In fact, since 1976 we have negotiated with the ANC and tried to persuade them to find a way of fighting in South Africa without using Mozambique. We never believed it was feasible for them to wage a strong, armed struggle in South Africa using the same methods we used against the Portuguese. We always considered that the conditions were different. We still don't believe that the ANC can achieve the necessary results by waging war from Mozambique. So, from the military side, we will not give them this kind of assistance. We don't believe in it. On the political and diplomatic side we have always said that we will continue to support the ANC. In fact, President Machel told Mr Pik Botha: "Ask me anything, but don't ask me to kill the ANC." So, we will continue to support the ANC politically and diplomatically. They will maintain their office in Maputo. We are sure that they are using their office for diplomatic and political purposes, and not for military purposes.

**If you found out that they were using their office for military purposes, would you put a stop to this immediately?**

They will not use their office for military purposes. They don't have to utilise an office for military purposes. I was a representative of Frelimo in Dar-es-Salaam and we did not use this office for military purposes. It wasn't convenient for us. We had offices for military purposes, we had camps for military purposes, but if the ANC does that it would be acting against our agreement with them.

**So there are, to your knowledge, no ANC (military) bases being operated in Maputo or in the bush of Mozambique?**

I discussed this with President Tambo, and he was categorical that nothing of this kind exists in Mozambique because the ANC understands our situation. The South African government requested me to expel from Maputo certain persons who they thought were violating the understanding. I believe that they are not — they were not. Anyway, I called them and asked them to decide whether to stay or to leave, and told them that there was a threat against their lives from South Africa. So the ANC decided to remove them, and of course, they will now have to replace them with others. They will undertake the political job, the diplomatic job. The men will be here and the South Africans know we have restrictions on the number, but they cannot expect me to forbid President Tambo or other leaders of the ANC to come and visit me, or their fellows in their office. They go to London where they have offices, why should they not come to Maputo? They go to London and New York and South Africa does not attack them there. What we are doing here is even less than what is happening in other capitals.

**Is there no other way for the ANC to become a participant in the South African political system than through the armed struggle?**

I am not saying that the ANC should not wage an armed struggle in South Africa. I am just saying that the means and methods cannot be the same as we applied against the Portuguese. I think the ANC could still conduct an armed struggle without using Mozambique. But, to answer your question,

there are other ways, and I think the ANC has followed them since its creation. You have mass demonstrations, you have the trades unions fight, you have all sorts of protests. You have economic boycotts within South Africa itself. In a lot of these activities

they are better off.

Actually, it is all of this which will bring in the final result. But, because the South African regime is ruthless and oppressive, the ANC is forced to have recourse, more and more, to violence.

**What seems to be at stake in South Africa is the question of a transfer of power from a racial minority to a majority of people. How do you think this transfer will take place in South Africa?**

In Mozambique the power was in the hands of foreigners. In Mozambique the wealth was in the hands of foreigners. In Mozambique you have a very poor country. For South Africa things are different. The majority of whites are South Africans and they have nowhere else to go. Here, the slogan was: "Go away, go home". In South Africa there is no such slogan, except: "Come and let us be a nation". This is different. South Africa is also an industrialised country. There are many differences between my country and South Africa in determining strategy and tactics.

**The South African newspapers reported President Kaunda of Zambia saying that there had been evidence that Mozambique was involved in a plan to destabilise Malawi — to stage a coup, in fact. There were apparently documents.**

We were sent a copy of that document. But even if you read it, you don't find it implying a coup. What I know from the three presidents: the late President Machel, President Kaunda and Prime Minister Mugabe, is that if Malawi would not co-operate with us to stop the utilisation of its territory by the bandits, then the three presidents would take measures which would block the roads out of Malawi.

This was definite in the three countries. That was a strategy and it still is. I think it will not be necessary because Malawi understands what it ought to do, and understands its own interests. But I don't



believe that President Kaunda would have said what they claimed he did, because President Machel would never have thought about staging a coup against any country in the region. We don't believe in the change of governments by other countries. The people in each country are responsible for changing their governments.

**To what extent has the regionalisation of Renamo escalated the possibility of a regional war taking place? Many believe that the problem of destabilisation in Mozambique has become a common concern to Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia, and thus become of international concern. Do you have a sense that this is happening?**

You spoke about two things here. You spoke about the possibility of generalised terrorism in the region. That possibility is there because you have dissidents in Zimbabwe, you have dissidents in Zambia, you have movements in Malawi, and I would not be astonished if South Africa used them in order to link up with Renamo. This would justify the threat by Renamo that they are also going to attack Zimbabwe. They cannot do this by themselves, so they will have to link all sorts of dissidents to create groupings in the area. But the major concern about the destabilisation of Mozambique is its effect on life in Zimbabwe. The existence of Zimbabwe is meaningless without the existence of a friendly Mozambique. The existence of a free Zambia is meaningless without the existence of Mozambique. They are supporters of sanctions against South Africa and they don't see any alternative to the ports of Mozambique for their exports and imports. Besides, no single country likes to be totally dependent upon another. So, even if there were no sanctions, Zimbabwe would still need the ports of Beira, Maputo and Ncala.

**You talk about sanctions. Is there not a grave threat that sanctions against South Africa will completely cripple the Frontline States. Do you not find that a very frightening scenario?**

Of course sanctions will hurt. But if you take into consideration that South Africa has already decreased exports through Maputo of about seven million tons to about 800 000-900 000 tons, we already have sanctions. But we are surviving.

They will cut our workers in South Africa down to 30 000 (from a high of 150 000). But we are surviving. Taking into consideration that these two things, the harbours/railways and the workers were Mozambique's major source of hard currency, we are hurting. But the hurting of the Frontline States is not the issue. The issue is whether they are going to hurt the economy of South Africa. The mistake is that sometimes countries imposing sanctions select such sanctions as will not hurt their own economies. There are sanctions which in many instances do not hurt the economy of South Africa.

**So will Mozambique impose sanctions against South Africa?**

Mozambique has not come to that conclusion yet, but countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia are speaking more and more about imposing sanctions on South Africa, maybe because they see that this will be the quickest way of making a difference to the South African economy. It could happen from Zimbabwe because there is a lot of interdependence. In Mozambique, we are only dependent on South Africa.

**Surely the Frontline States and South Africa should be talking about these matters. What prevents you from talking?**

Apartheid.

But apartheid, like racialism in America, is going to take a long time to disappear. You can change the law, but the habit of apartheid will not, regrettably, disappear just like that. Surely the abolition of apartheid is an unrealistic precondition for talks?

We are not saying that they have to scrap apartheid before we talk to them. To talk about what? This is the question. But let us at least come to a fair understanding that we are going to talk about something that, at least, is sound. Then maybe we, the Frontline States, could say we have bilateral contracts with South Africa. If Pik Botha reads the notes which he took in meetings with President Machel, he will find a lot of good advice there. We said: "Release Mandela. You have to talk with Mandela".

**Is there not a genuine concern that Mozambican advice is prompted by Soviet**

imperialism? Your Soviet links and those of the ANC are obviously of deep concern to most South Africans.

As you were talking I was reviewing my own history in Mozambique and that of the fascist colonial government of Portugal. I used to wear the uniform of the Portuguese youth. This was an organisation seen, by those who understood politics, as a fascist organisation. I did not know I was wearing something fascist and I was proud of that uniform. It gave me some sort of promotion. I did not know where Moscow was, I had never read a Marxist-Leninist book, but I hated the practices of the colonial regime. I remember

that I did not understand what the Portuguese meant about communists. I left and went to Portugal. It was from there that I went to meetings with people who spoke about politics and who were against colonialism. I agreed with them because that was my philosophy. The Portuguese authorities questioned me and warned that I was being indoctrinated by communists. They said: "Be careful." I said: "I believe in what they are saying." There was no influence of the communist, of Moscow. We went to meetings to discuss what we felt. This is how people fight in the end, and essentially, this is how the ANC fights.

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CSO: 3400/466

## VAN ZYL SLABBERT SEES CHISSANO REGIME AS NEW ERA OF OPTIMISM

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6, 1987 No 1 pp 19-24

[Article by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert]

[Text]

To any white South African accustomed to Lourenco Marques in "the old days" – prawns and beer in the boulevard cafes; cosmopolitan night life; noisy morning markets and packed holiday beaches – Maputo, today, is depressing. Visible signs of neglect, even urban decay, are everywhere. It is such an obvious dumping ground for all those tired "I told you so" post-colonial clichés – a constant reminder that liberation is not a one night stand.

There is an enigmatic symbolism in the fact that one of the spotless little enclaves of care happens to be a shrine dedicated to Louis Trichardt and his Voortrekkers complete with a marble scroll acknowledging contributions from the ACVV, VLV, FAK and Voortrekkerbeweging. All other signs of Portuguese colonial rule have been removed, but somehow the condition of the shrine seems to imply a problem of a different order.

Recently we were having breakfast at Kirkman's Camp in Mala-Mala. I asked the young Portuguese pilot who flew us there, where he came from. "I was born in Mozambique – Beira," he replied. "When did you leave?" "In 1982." "Oh, so you were there for eight years after liberation. Why did you leave?"

At first he was told they could pay half his salary in dollars and the rest in local currency. He was prepared to accept this. He loved Mozambique, but it was difficult. He and his wife and small baby lived in a tenement building with four other families. There was electricity because one of them worked at the power station and could bring home kerosene for the generator; the other worked at the abattoir and brought some meat. Everyday they had to queue for milk and bread. They hired a little black boy to queue for them.

Eventually, the man behind the counter knew for whom every little black boy queued and what to expect in the form of bribes. Being a pilot and more mobile, he could get pecan nuts – highly valued. Eventually, the whole Maputo economy depended on an informal barter system to keep it going.

One day his plane barely managed to take off from an airstrip in the Tete province and when the cargo was weighed at Maputo, there was more than a ton of undeclared contraband smuggled on board for bartering in the capital. Finally, he was told they could no longer pay half his salary in dollars. For the sake of his wife and baby, he left. "I was lucky; I am a pilot. But the people who suffer most are the blacks," he said.

No doubt his story is coloured by his own prejudice and his own experience of the trauma that this kind of transition brings to society. However, the date when he finally decided to leave is significant. From 1981 the Mozambique economy went into a serious decline. It also corresponded with the change from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe and the transfer of Renamo to the assistance of the SADF.

The extent to which Mozambique was abandoned by its colonial rulers is simply staggering. Farms were left deserted; a country with a 3 000 km coast line and three natural harbours was left with no ships at all; even coffins were transported to Portugal from the family mausoleums in the Lourenco Marques cemetery. Despite this, the Maputo economy managed to painfully claw itself back to some kind of respectable growth between 1974 and 1980. Then destabilisation began in all earnest.

It was a blistering hot day when P W Botha and Samora Machel signed the Nkomati Accord. I was sitting next to one of the few sensibly clad dignitaries present—the Swazi Minister of Foreign Affairs, wearing a skirt with a light Mahiya cloth covering his torso, a pair of leather sandals on his feet. The rest of us sweated and chafed in our colonial heritage. Even Machel looked ridiculously un-African in his white uniform. The two armies stood untwitching in the noon sun. At one stage a general said to me: “We’re ahead four to three.” “What do you mean?” I asked. “Only three of ours have fainted so far,” came the reply.

It was all a pantomimed farce, of course. The Vaz Diaries made that clear more than a year later. These were captured when a strategic Renamo camp had been overrun and showed that before, during and after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, Mozambique had been subjected to deliberate and systematic destabilisation by its powerful neighbour. Even the South African government did not question the contents of those diaries. But why, for heaven’s sake?

It is a bit complicated, but somehow I believe historians will keep coming back to April 25, 1974 to find the answer. On that day a coup in Lisbon precipitated the independence of Mozambique and Angola and put the liberation struggle in both countries on “fast forward”. Even the departure of the Portuguese looked like a speeded-up version of the Keystone Cops in retreat. But for the South African government, it heralded an aggressive “thump and talk” regional policy towards its neighbours. The colonial *cordon sanitaire* from West to East had been broken; Rhodesia was fighting its terminal battle and once that was over, only African governments were on the borders with which to deal.

And deal with them South Africa did. It took over Renamo (MNR) from the Rhodesian army; sent it back to Mozambique, supported and sustained it. It invaded Angola, raided Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and made it clear to all and sundry that those surrounding it were part of a total onslaught against it.

The liberation of Mozambique did two things: it emphasised the great degree of interdependence of the countries in the region, and implied that as long as South Africa’s domestic conflict remained unresolved, liberation for its neighbouring countries did not mean freedom. Even if the Portuguese in Mozambique had not left in such large numbers; even if Machel had not initially been such a naive and dogmatic ideologue; even “if” many other things, Mozambique was not going to be left alone to work out the consequences of its own liberation. Not even by signing the Nkomati Accord.

“Why does Pretoria want war?” It was January 3, 1986. We were in Machel’s office in Maputo. Although it was a rhetorical question, he jumped out of his seat as he asked it and walked to and fro.

“Look at Hitler. He invaded everybody, even Russia. But you know where the war ended? Where it began—in Berlin. So it will be with Pretoria. I cannot beat Botha, nor can Mugabe, Kaunda or anyone around here. Even if he conquers us all, he would not have solved anything. He is fighting his own people. The war will end in Pretoria.”

I had gone to Maputo to establish first hand the status of the Vaz Diaries. Colonel Sergio Viera, then Minister of Security, gave me a detailed briefing to be followed by the interview with Machel. There was not the slightest doubt in either’s mind about the aggressive intent of Pretoria.

When I quietly suggested that perhaps by now, the MNR, having exploited discontent and rural instability, could have built up some popular following, Machel exploded with: “There is no Renamo without the SADF, only bandits.”

As we drove to the airport over pot-holed streets, past skeletons of colonial boulevard cafes, I thought to myself: “Is it as simple as that?” What about the ideological hyperbole; the hopelessly idealistic social engineering; the lack of skill and experience and the unwillingness to come to terms with it. Did not all this play some role as well? I suppose it did.

Colonel Viera said: “Of course, we made mistakes, many. But we are prepared to learn from them.” He stopped the car at Louis Trichardt’s shrine and we got out. “Look”, he said, “completely untouched.” There was a touch of pride in the way he said it. He was trying to get something through to me and I still am not quite sure what, except that it felt vaguely re-assuring.

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Machel died in a plane crash on October 19, 1986. I was in Bonn when I was told the news and could not believe it. My first reaction was that Mozambique could not hold together without him. Whatever his shortcomings, he was an inspiring personality and one sensed the genuine affection and respect of all those around him. On December 12, I was again in Maputo and this time another friend met me and drove me into town. As he talked, I began to sense a change in the atmosphere that was confirmed by subsequent discussions with other people I met.

Without compromising anyone, I can best sum it up by saying that as much as Machel’s death was a blow and his memory is revered, his departure unleashed a new energy

and sense of expectation in Mozambique. Machel's charisma was so overwhelming that very little took place without his approval or knowledge. This led to a highly individualised and centralised style of government. Chissano was busy re-arranging and rationalising and the buzzwords were "delegation" and "pragmatism". There seemed to be a new confidence in dealing with the MNR problem.

This has to be seen against a vastly changed regional and international climate concerning South and Southern Africa. The year of Machel's death saw the disintegration of the United States' constructive engagement policy towards South Africa; the failure of the Eminent Persons' Group initiative; the onset of sanctions; a continuing and extending State of Emergency in South Africa; the broadening of foreign policy objectives by the West to focus on Southern, rather than South Africa, with, for example, assistance to frontline states to enable them to become less dependent on and vulnerable to South Africa; the Non Aligned Movement Conference in Harare

and a re-appraisal of the viability of the SADCC.

The spin-off of this for Mozambique has been greater international and especially Western interest. Britain, the US and a number of European countries have increased involvement, either by developing the Beira corridor as an alternative trade route or by stepped-up aid domestically. The upshot of it all is that Chissano and his government feel less alone. They feel they are no longer going to be pushed around and messed about while the world looks the other way. Their domestic travail, insofar as it relates to regional conflicts, has become internationalised.

I think this is not simply a case of false optimism. Mozambique has been the stamping ground for most of the ideological battles and regional conflicts surrounding decolonisation and the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. A significant and sustained change in its domestic and international position could very well provide an important clue to how the Southern African region is going to solve its problems of co-existence.

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REBELO, USSR'S DOBRYNIN SIGN PARTY ACCORD

Agreement To Cover 1987-1989

MB311354 Maputo in English to Southern African 1100 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Text] In the Soviet capital, Moscow, the visiting Frelimo party Political Bureau member and the secretary of the Central Committee for ideological work, Jorge Rebelo, signed a plan for relations between the vanguard parties of the two countries for the period of 1987-1989. The plan was signed in the course of discussions between Mr Rebelo and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Antoliy Dobrynin.

Also marking the 10th anniversary of the friendship and cooperation treaty, the foreign ministers of the two countries, Pascoal Mocumbi of Mozambique and Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union, exchanged messages of greetings and expressed satisfaction over developments in the relations between Mozambique and the Soviet Union over the past 10 years.

Rebelo, Demichev Speak at Banquet

MB311828 Dakar PANA in English 1703 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow, 31 March (AIM/PANA)--Mozambique is watching "with close attention" current developments in the Soviet Union, declared the head of the Frelimo Party ideological department, Jorge Rebelo, in Moscow yesterday. Speaking at a banquet in his honour, Rebelo referred to "the process of renewal that is under way today in the Soviet Union." "We appreciate and praise this process whose objective is to speed up the development of socialist society," he said. Rebelo praised "the frank and open nature of the fraternal relations between our parties, governments and peoples. These relations, consolidated during the struggle for Mozambique's liberation, as well as our identical goals, served after our independence as the foundation stones for the development of technical, scientific, commercial and cultural cooperation between Mozambique and the USSR." The friendship and cooperation treaty between the two countries, which is exactly 10 years old today, "has served efficiently and to our mutual advantage, the real interests of our peoples," Rebelo added. "The activities we have of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are today a factor to be taken into consideration in the struggle for world peace and progress," he said.

Southern Africa, Rebelo continued, "lives today in a state of permanent aggression by the apartheid regime, which attacks the other countries of the region with the aim of obliging them to submit to its designs of domination." In this situation of war, "the multifaceted aid from the Soviet people is a valuable contribution for which the Mozambican people and government are grateful."

An alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party's Political Bureau, Petr Demichev, said that "reactionary forces who are not pleased with independent policies, are trying to prevent Mozambique's development." He added that the Soviet Union knew that Mozambique was passing through "a difficult period," after the death of President Samora Machel, whom he described as "a courageous defender of the freedom and independence of the Mozambican people, and a loyal friend of the Soviet Union."

He pledged that "on the road of independence, freedom, social progress and peace," the Mozambican people "will always enjoy the unshakeable support of the Soviet Union." The friendship and cooperation treaty, Demichev said, had stood the test of time. "Each phrase of this historic document," he added, "reflects the unbending will of the Soviet Communist Party and of Frelimo, to the Mozambican and Soviet peoples, to march forward, shoulder to shoulder, in peaceful and creative work, in struggle against the forces of imperialism, racism and neocolonialism, and for international peace and security."

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CSO: 3400/376

TRADE MINISTRY REPORTS FURTHER ON HUNGER SITUATION

MB271846 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Mar 87 p 1

[By THE STAR'S Africa News Service]

[Text] Maputo--Almost 4 million people in Mozambique are facing starvation. And their numbers are rising while food production is falling to the lowest levels in the country's history.

This has been disclosed by the Mozambique Trade Ministry.

At the same time it has been reported the country has no money to pay for food imports and is now totally dependent on overseas donations to feed the starving population.

There is already hunger in Mozambique's second largest city, Beira.

The latest report from the Mozambican Trade Ministry's food security department estimates 3.9 million people are going hungry.

Of these, 1.2 million have been displaced from their homes because of the war.

Worst affected areas are the central provinces of Zambezia and Sofala with 847,000 and 781,000 people at risk respectively.

The northern province of Niassa is almost completely isolated and the only way of moving large quantities of food into the province is through Malawi, the report said.

At the same time Mozambique's agricultural board, Africom, says a mere 40,000 tons of grain (maize and rice) were marketed in Mozambique last year while more than 700,000 tons are needed.

Last year's production figures are called "the lowest in the recorded history of Mozambique agricultural marketing".



The main reason for the collapse in the marketing of grain is given as "the destabilising action against the country promoted through armed banditry".

The figures mean more than 90 percent of Mozambique's food requirement will have to come from external sources.

The Mozambique news agency AIM said, however, that "Mozambique's financial situation is such that this year no commercial imports at all are planned."

This means Mozambique will have to rely entirely in the international donor community to cover the gap between internal production and food requirements.

Yesterday's reports also disclosed that the country's sugar supplies were down to 30,000 tons of which 12,000 had been donated by Sweden.

The country's requirements are 70,000 tons.

AIM also reported the rice crop in the green belt around Beira has failed due to lack of rain. About 75 percent of the crop is expected to be lost, with "serious implications" for the food supplies of Beira.

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CSO: 3400/378

FOOD SHORTAGES THREATEN SOFALA RESIDENTS

MB271937 Dakar PANA in English 1715 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Special report by Paul Fauvet]

[Text] Beira (Mozambique), 27 Mar (AIM/PANA)--The combined effects of South African destabilisation and renewed drought mean that an estimated 609,000 people in the central Mozambican Province of Sofala are facing food shortages, according to the provincial branch of the Disasters Control Office [DPCCN].

This figure is more than half the total population of Sofala. Manuel Nogueira, director of DPCCN-Sofala, told AIM that poor rainfall this year had affected the greater part of the province, with the results that seeds planted in October had not germinated.

A report from DPCCN-Sofala points out that even reliance on drought-resistant crops would not have had much effect, "because the production areas are wracked with war. The war obliges people to migrate from the zones where they were living and producing to areas not yet affected, and where conditions for agriculture are not favourable."

Mr Nogueira said that the most serious situation was in the north of the province, in the districts of Caia, Chemba, Maringue and Cheringoma. These are the parts of Sofala worst hit by the banditry of the South African backed MNR.

(?A recent) joint offensive by Mozambican and (?Zimbabwe forces) has dislodged the MNR from much of northern Sofala, and has revealed the full extent of the hunger problem. Peasants liberated from bandit control in northern Sofala are in a desperate condition, and have been reduced to eating wild fruit and roots.

Mr Nogueira said that it was impossible to reach these districts from the provincial capital, Beira, since the access roads from the south have been destroyed, and the railway from Beira to the Zambezi is out of operation due to bandit sabotage.

The only possible way of bringing in large quantities of food was via Malawi. This would entail taking it by train from [words indistinct] bridge over the Zambezi, and concentrating relief supplies at Sena on the south bank of the river. The bridge and the town are now firmly under government control.

From Sena access to all the northern districts is possible. Since there is no bridge at Sena, even the trucks needed to transport emergency aid would have to be taken over the Zambezi by rail.

Plans are under way to rehabilitate the road and railway from Beira to the north. "We cannot wait for this", stressed Mr Nogueira. "There is a great danger of losing many lives before the work is finished".

For the south of the province, access is possible by sea and river to the (?district of) Buzi and Machanga, while Dondo and Nhamatanda districts can be supplied using the Beira-Zimbabwe road and railway. The major difficulty in the south is with the inland district of Chibabava where the access road is in very poor shape.

DPCCN-Sofala estimates the urgent needs for the province to 66,000 tonnes of grain, 11,000 tonnes of beans, 11,000 tonnes of vegetable oil, and 27,000 tonnes of powdered milk.

It also calls for support in clothing. Many people in northern Sofala have been reduced to wearing bits of old sacking, said Mr Nogueira. The minimum needs for the province are 1.7 million pieces of clothing and 611,000 pairs of shoes.

The DPCCN report says that each district in the province should have one tractor, one land-rover and two trucks to guarantee links between the district headquarters and the various localities. In addition a further 25 trucks are needed by DPCCN-Sofala to distribute produce from Beira to the districts.

At the moment DPCCN-Sofala only possesses eight operational trucks "which does not correspond to the volume of current work, or to future perspectives when access roads are reopened".

The report calls for a further 13 tractors, 13 land-rovers and 51 trucks. To support the transport fleet a minimum of 450,000 litres of diesel and 72,000 litres of petrol are also needed.

The report warns that "international support is urgent and indispensable in order to avoid disaster". This support "should not be limited to food and clothing, but should also deal with incentives for agriculture in order to make people self-sufficient".

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CSO: 3400/379

SOWETAN LOOKS BEHIND MNR LINES

MB280604 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 27 Mar 87 pp 8, 14

["Focus" column]

[Text] Zambezia, Mozambique--Twenty-nine year-old General Calisto Meque's story typifies that of the right-wing Mozambican National Resistance insurgent leaders and their goals. Formerly a primary school teacher from Central Manica Province, Gen Calisto fought with the now ruling communist Frelimo Party in the war of independence. But in 1977, disillusioned, he deserted.

"I didn't like the communist system. I saw people suffering as they suffer now, and I didn't like it. So I deserted and joined Renamo," he explained, sitting in his bamboo-hut command post, complete with glass windows, print curtains and an old Portuguese map of Mozambique on one wall.

At 23, Gen Calisto led a group of 480 guerrillas to open up the rebel front in Eastern Tete Province. "It was difficult, but we managed.

Militarily it was a big success--we expelled large numbers of the enemy," he recalled. That was in 1981.

In 1982, Gen Calisto was sent to open up a new front here in Zambezia, one of the country's most populated and fertile provinces.

"I had 580 men under my command. It was another military victory. We also had a lot of support from the people, and many government soldiers deserted to join us," he said.

It took the rebels four years to "conquer" this centre-northern bottleneck province that stretches from the Malawi border to the Indian Ocean, cutting the nation in half, he said, but acknowledged they had taken no major towns.

Renamo says currently some 25,000 rebels operate in all ten provinces of this mineral-rich southeast African nation, and they claim to have isolated government forces to district and provincial capitals.

Since the war began some ten years ago, the Marxist Maputo government has called in roughly 12,000 Zimbabwean and 5,000 Tanzanian troops to help

keep principal transport routes open, and is increasingly relying on foreign aid to keep its economy afloat.

"Our military situation is presently favourable, in spite of the large numbers of foreign troops supporting (the ruling party) Frelimo," said Renamo's 34-year-old commander-in-chief and president, Afonso Dhlakama, a former seminary student.

"We control some 85 percent of the Mozambican territory. The army is concentrated in the cities, cut off from surrounding districts. The few districts under Frelimo's control only exist because of Zimbabwe's airforce protection," the guerrilla leader said.

Many observers believe what is sustaining the war is the Zimbabwean airforce and its British-trained ground troops stationed mainly across the "Beira Corridor"--an oil, rail and road route that links landlocked Zimbabwe to the Indian Ocean.

Frelimo's morale is at rock bottom. Zimbabwe keeps that war going, not Maputo," said one businessman who asked to remain unnamed.

Renamo has concentrated its attacks on the corridor--Mozambique's economic artery. "The Beira Corridor is an important economic target and in so much as Frelimo uses it as pretext to involve foreign troops in the war," Dhlakama said.

Spawned by the Rhodesian intelligence organization and openly backed by South Africa until Pretoria signed a nonaggression pact with Maputo in 1984, the image Renamo has is one of a movement without nationalist credentials, as one senior Washington diplomat recently said after a visit to Mozambique. The United States and Britain are not only ignoring Renamo--whom they don't consider a legitimate alternative--they are increasing economic and humanitarian aid to the government which they perceive as moderate in contrast to the more hard-line pro-Soviet Angolan Government.

If the rebels are receiving any external support, it is not immediately visible. Four weeks of criss-crossing the province on foot and motorcycle showed soldiers uniformed in rags, carrying dated Soviet-made AK-47 Kalashnikovs. The arsenal in one base consisted of 82mm Chinese- and Soviet-made anti-aircraft guns, RPG-7S, Soviet-made light machine guns and Portuguese land-mines dating from the colonial war--all captured material, the rebels said.

But well-informed observers of the Mozambique scene believe South Africa is supplying the rebels with less obvious--but far more essential--intelligence reports, boosting Renamo's military victories and keeping the country in a shambles. With its long coastal line and three major ports, a stable Mozambique would serve as an alternative transport route for its landlocked neighbours, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi, thereby eliminating their current dependence on Pretoria.

Renamo argues it has a life of its own feeding off the people's growing discontent with the government's Marxist policies. And in this Morumbala district of Zambezia at least, Renamo is very well-entrenched and enjoys strong grass-roots support.

Life in their headquarters base is almost relaxed: There are football games every Sunday, tailor shops and carpentry shops have been set up, and there is no lack of food. Orderlies take care of such daily chores and washing and ironing clothes, fetching water, and helping in the neverending job of fixing motorcycles--the commanders' only form of fast transport. Messages are handled through a network of handcranked radio transmitters hooked up to the rebel capital in Gorongosa, a former wild game reserve park south of the Zambezia River.

In contrast to their rag-tag appearance and make-do approach to daily life, military hierarchy and foot-stomping-saluting discipline is strictly adhered to within Renamo ranks, and Dhlakama, affectionately called "the old man" "O Velho" in Portuguese by his men, is their uncontested leader.

Beneath Dhlakama are ten generals--one for every province, followed by a guerrilla military structure of province commanders, base commanders, foot soldiers and orderlies. After training, all the guerrillas are periodically posted to different areas of the country to familiarize themselves with the territory and different dialects, and probably to prevent the development of any tribalistic factions.

Renamo officials deny government accusations that they conscript civilians. "That's absurd. The life of a guerrilla is too hard. Conscription would only lead to desertion--as Frelimo should know," said one rebel commander. The insurgents' rank and file are made up of teenagers like 18-year-old officer Alves. Like many of his peers, Alves said he voluntarily joined the rebels to "fight the communists." After basic training he served as an orderly until the age of 16 when he was trained for combat.

Renamo operates in groups of 15 to 300 men depending on the size of their target and the number of troops protecting it, in hit-and-run attacks. "When we attack a town, our objective is not to hold it, but to scatter the enemy, capture their material, destroy its infrastructures and then withdraw," Dhlakama said. The rebels say they then wait for Frelimo to restock before striking again.

As yet the rebels have not taken and held any major town. Apart from Dhlakama's guerrilla-warfare rationale, this is probably more due to their limited manpower and that if they ever did take a city they would become sitting-ducks for the Zimbabwean Air Force.

Although the guerrillas say disaffected government officers may join them in a coup attempt, Frelimo seems to be a tightly-knit group. This cohesion was apparent in the lack of political upheavals following Mozambican President Samora Machel's death in a plane crash last year and the appointment of his successor, Mr Joaquim Chissano.

However, some former military forces saw Mr Machel's death as an opportunity to seek a negotiated settlement to end the war. A document, apparently signed by veterans of the independence war, was circulated in Maputo at the time calling for talks with Renamo and arguing in favour of an Africanization of both parties and the regime. Although the authenticity of the document has never been proven, it has been suggested this kind of initiative could not have taken place without the support of top government officials.

"The document is positive because it calls for peace, which is the desire of the Mozambican people. It also indicated that Frelimo's chances of defeating Renamo militarily are remote," said Dhlakama.

Renamo's conditions for negotiations leading to cease-fire are the withdrawal of all foreign troops and Soviet and Cuban advisors, and a national reconciliation plan followed by general free elections. As to the future, in a recently published "political action programme," Renamo said it defended the creation of an independent and non-aligned multi-party state, based on a system of free enterprises and a market economy, with "good relations with all its neighbours."

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CSO: 3400/376

JOURNALIST REPORTS ON BEIRA CORRIDOR OPERATION

MB271502 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] Foreign exchange means progress and development and its acquisition is precisely the objective of major SADCC projects, including the Beira corridor. The Beira corridor is alive and well and a visible reality. It can and must be improved but it is there alive and well and functioning. This is the view of journalist Machado da Graca.

[DA GRACA] That is the picture I received during my visit from Beira to Gondola which involved some stopovers and a few chats. In general, the road is good and despite some minor dilapidations and washed away tar, which requires some minor repairs, the general view is that conditions on the road allow greater trafficking of goods than is currently the case. Along almost 200 km from Gondola to Beira, I counted only 11 trucks carrying goods, which is clearly not much for such an important road.

In Nhamatanda, the station master spoke about the operation of the railroad. The situation is practically normal. Railroad sabotage today is much rarer than it was even a few months ago and repair work is carried out with greater speed, very often in less than 2 hours. The repair teams, which are reinforced with equipment and personnel from Zimbabwe, arrive at the site in no time and carry out repair work. In Gondola where repair work is (?much advanced), things are far better and trains move up and down with passengers and freight, as I had the opportunity to confirm.

At the port of Beira, there was less activity. I saw only 4 ships at the port which has the capacity to hold 10. Inspector Pedro Junior later told us that the port has been operating at 50 percent below its present capacity, which is of about 3 million tons per year. This is mainly because of the paralyzation of the railroad to Malawi by acts of banditry in the service of Pretoria interests. However, the port is operating and registering some improvement. Next month, a project will be launched to link quay No 11 to oil enterprises through a pipeline [preceding word in English] and only yesterday, equipment and spare parts were being unloaded to rehabilitate 10 electric cranes, according to Engineer Chuva Fernando. Now that the sector is clearly functioning, the Beira corridor will change attitudes and procedures in various other sectors of Beira city which is necessary to support this fundamental project.

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CSO: 3400/379



BRIEFS

AGREEMENT ON ENERGY WITH NORWAY--Mozambique and Norway have signed an agreement on the energy sector. The agreement is worth \$13 million and it covers technical assistance, the provision of equipment, and the training of Mozambicans in the energy sector. The agreement was signed in Maputo yesterday by the representative of the Norwegian Agency for Development, NORAD, (Arthur Sidney), and Mozambique's minister of industry and energy, Antonio Branco. Mr Branco said that the agreement strengthens cooperation between Norway and Mozambique. In response, Mr (Sidney) says that the agreement symbolizes solidarity of the people of Norway with the Mozambican people. [Text] [Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

MANICA RESIDENTS AFFECTED BY EMERGENCY--A total of 189,000 people have been affected by emergency situation in Manica Province because of actions carried out by armed bandits in the pay of Pretoria. A report from the Ministry of Trade points out that there is an acute shortage of food, clothing, tents, soaps, medicine, and other products. These shortages, the reports say, are felt more in the north of Manica Province. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

FOOD DISTRIBUTION IN ZAMBEZIA PROVINCE--The department of prevention and combat of natural disasters in the Zambezia province has distributed food and clothing to the population recently freed from the yoke of the armed bandits in the Mopeia district. According to the Zambezia regional station, there are more than 8,000 persons, mostly women and children, in Mopeia who urgently needed food and clothing. Zambezia province is considered to be most affected by the activities of the armed bandits supported by South Africa. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0800 GMT 26 Mar 87 MB] /6662

ECONOMIC PROGRAM CRITICISM INVITED--Maputo, 29 Mar (AIM/PANA)--Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano declared yesterday in Macava, on the outskirts of Maputo, that his office is open to receive any queries and criticisms about the economic recovery programme currently being implemented. The programme has involved a 420 per cent devaluation of the currency, the metical, and a round of price increases. There have also been major changes to wage and tax legislation. Speaking to a mass meeting after a visit to an agricultural co-operative in Machava, which forms part of the Maputo green belt, President Chissano said that a major effort to increase agricultural production was necessary, if the country was to do away with food queues and pay off its

foreign debt (which currently stands at about (?43) billion U.S. dollars). Asked by the president what their main concerns were, participants at the meeting spoke of a shortage of schools, and of problems related to transport, food supplies and [word indistinct]. Mr Chissano told them that Prime Minister Mario Machungo has appointed a commission to investigate why there was a delay in the supply of basic foods and other rationed goods in March. [Text] [Dakar PANA in English 0930 GMT 29 Mar 87 MB] /6662

USSR OIL DONATION--At the port of Beira last Thursday, a Soviet oil tanker unloaded 8,500 tons of oil out of 22,500 tons destined for Mozambique. The oil, donated to Mozambique by the USSR, was unloaded successively at the ports of Maputo, Nacala, and Beira. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 29 Mar 87 MB] /6662

RELATIONS WITH MALAWI--Zacarias Kupela, secretary general of the organization of the Mozambican Youth, OJM said, in a press conference in Maputo today that the recent visit of the OJM delegation to Malawi was in the context of our country's efforts to develop peace, good neighborliness, and fruitful cooperation among SADCC countries. Kupela emphasized that the first official activity in Malawi of the OJM delegation was a meeting with Malawian Life President Kamuzu Banda, to whom the delegation delivered a message from Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano. The message expressed the readiness of the Mozambican Government and people to strengthen bilateral cooperation. According to the OJM secretary general, Life President Dr Kamuzu Banda praised the historic relations between the Malawian and Mozambican peoples and said they are brother peoples. Kamuzu Banda added that the borders between the two countries are artificial and were created by colonial powers to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the peoples. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 28 Mar 87 MB] /6662

WFP TO REHABILITATE RAILROAD--The World Food Program, WFP, says it will help Mozambique in rehabilitating the railway line of Nacala. The world body says it will supply several materials to be used in the reconstruction of the railway line which links Mozambique and the landlocked Malawi. The railway has been out of operation since 1984 due to sabotage action by the South African-backed MNR bandits. [Excerpt] [Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

RAILROAD AID FROM USSR--The People's Republic of Mozambique last year received R50 million worth of various equipment for railroad construction, including rails and other material. Soviet participation in Mozambique's economic rehabilitation projects is within the framework of the friendship treaty signed between the USSR and the People's Republic of Mozambique 10 years ago. During a meeting at the USSR Consulate in Beira last Thursday, it was stressed that the USSR wants to expand aid, especially in the fields of geology and mines. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0800 GMT 28 Mar 87 MB] /6662

POTENTIAL PRC, PAKISTAN COOPERATION--The Frelimo Party Political Bureau member, minister of transport and communications, Armando Guebuza, said China and Pakistan had expressed great interest in cooperation with Mozambique. Lieutenant General Guebuza was speaking at a press conference in Maputo yesterday after the visits he recently made to China and Pakistan. He said the aim of the visit to Pakistan was to study the Pakistani realities and for his delegation to explain to them the current situation in Mozambique. About China, General Guebuza said the Chinese people are now trying to work on [words indistinct]. In the visit to China, General Guebuza headed a party delegation while in Pakistan he led a government delegation. [Text] [Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 26 Mar 87 MB] /6662

ITALIAN FINANCING FOR RAIL PROJECT--Italy is to grant Mozambique \$46 million for the renovation of the Dondo railroad in the northern region of Sofala Province, announced Rui Fonseca, chairman of the Beira corridor project. Accordingly, starting next month Italy will send Mozambique various types of equipment to be used in the construction. [Excerpt] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 26 Mar 87 MB] /6662

MACHUNGO ON RSA, 'ARMED BANDITS'--Mozambican Prime Minister Mario Machungo has said that Mozambique's problems are southern Africa's problems, which result from the existence of apartheid. Mario Machungo, who was answering a question posed by a reporter from IZVESTIYA, the official organ of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, stated that Zimbabwe's and Tanzania's participation in the struggle against the armed bandits is a result of the Pretoria regime's actions against the whole region. In this regard, Mario Machungo stressed that South Africa is trying to export its internal conflict and explosive situation to southern Africa by training, financing, and infiltrating armed bandits to destabilize the region. The head of the Mozambican Government said that the peoples of the region are aware that there is no alternative to winning the struggle against the armed bandits. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 31 Mar 87 MB] /6662

SHIPYARD DIRECTOR PRAISES SOVIET COOPERATION--The friendship and cooperation treaty signed by Mozambique and the USSR 10 years ago has resulted in concrete action. For example, Jose Correia Ganacnio, deputy secretary of the Mozambique Workers Organization, and (Valentin Aliuskin), first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Maputo, at the head of two delegations today visited the Maputo shipyard and its floating dock. On the occasion, (Jose Jofrid), director of the shipyard, discussed the operation of the dock since its acquisition: [Begin Jofrid recording] We can say that since the beginning of the operation of our complex in 1982 up to 31 December 1986, we were able to repair 357 ships, of which 122 were from the USSR. During this period, apart from Soviet ships, we also repaired 171 Mozambican ships, and another 64 ships from other country's such as the GDR, Spain, Greece, and so on. This demonstrates the importance of our cooperation, which has permitted us to produce more and obtain direct professional training as our workers have been working side by side with Soviet technicians. [End recording] [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 30 Mar 87 MB] /6662

APPEAL FOR ADDITIONAL FOOD DONATION--The Ministry of Trade recently published a document appealing for additional food donations, particularly cooking oil and sugar. The document warns that the sugar situation is critical. Sugar supply forecasts for 1987 have been estimated at 30,000 metric tons, whereas minimum consumption amounts to 80,000 metric tons. Other forecasts say that cooking oil requirements are 15,000 metric tons, but this year's production will not exceed 5,000 tons. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

IMF DELEGATION DEPARTS--An IMF delegation, which has been on a 2-week visit to our country, returned to New York today. During its stay in Maputo, the delegation held talks with Finance Minister Abdul Magid Osman and Eneas Comiche, governor of the Bank of Mozambique. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

RICE CROP LOSS--In Beira city, 75 percent of the rice crop has been lost due to lack of rain. An area of 5,000 hectares had been earmarked for the crop in the Sofala provincial capital, and production was expected to be about 7,000 metric tons. The director of Beira greenbelt has said that the loss in the rice crop will have serious implications in the supply of the local residents. He said that in order to compensate for the situation and to take advantage of recent rains, large quantities of corn, bean and vegetable seeds are required. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0400 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

CSO: 3400/378

## BRIEFS

PILOTS TRAINED IN LIBYA, DPRK--The prime minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, today presented wings to 17 officers of the Air Force of Zimbabwe. Fourteen of the pilots trained in Libya, one in the DPRK, and two trained under the Air Force of Zimbabwe. Comrade Mugabe told the graduates that Thornton Air Base in Gweru that the situation in Mozambique requires well-coordinated operations between the air and the ground forces. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 26 Mar 87 MB] /6662

CITIZENS WORK AS RSA AGENTS--Minister of state for security, Comrade Emmerson Munangagwa, says there are still many Zimbabweans working as South African agents despite several arrests by security forces. In an interview with ZIANA in the capital today, Comrade Munangagwa said the agents seek to penetrate the army and to sabotage communication and power links. The minister added that the greatest danger to Zimbabwe security is economic sabotage by local and foreign businessmen who take money out of the country to foreign banks. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 30 Mar 87 MB] /6662

TELEPHONE SERVICE WITH INDIA--Harare, 24 Mar (ZIANA/PANA)--Another satellite dish--the one facing the Indian Ocean--is to be installed at the Mazowe satellite station near Harare, the Zimbabwean Minister of Information, Posts and Communications, Nathan Shamuyarira, said today. At the inauguration ceremony of international subscriber installed (ISD) telephone service from India to Zimbabwe, at the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC) head office in Harare, Shamuyarira said the ministry was now independent in the field of telecommunications. Shamuyarira took the first call from India and spoke to his counterpart there, Arjun Singh. The aid of the ISD is to link Zimbabwe to about 143 countries. [Text] [Dakar PANA in English 1424 GMT 25 Mar 87 EA] /6662

NEW LIBYAN OFFICIAL CONGRATULATED--The prime minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, has sent a congratulatory message to the general secretary of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Comrade ('Umar al Montesin), on the assumption of the duties of a prime minister [as heard]. Comrade Mugabe said the appointment comes at a time when some parts of Africa are facing the throes of war and imperialism. In a similar message, the minister of foreign affairs, Comrade Witness Mangwende, said it was with pleasure that I have learned of your appointment to the esteemed office of secretary for foreign relations [as heard] of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 28 Mar 87 MB] /6662

THREE CANDIDATES DISCUSS BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUES

MB051356 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Report on separate interviews with PFP Harry Schwarz, finance spokesman; CP MP Koos van der Merwe; and Minister of Manpower and Public Works Piet du Plessis, by unidentified reporters on the "Network" program; video-recorded passages in quotation marks]

[Text] [Reporter] "Mr Schwarz, what are the chief reasons for black unemployment?

[Schwarz] "One of the causes is natural population growth. But the chief reason today is the fact that in 1984 the government adopted measures that caused people to lose their jobs, that caused the business to go bankrupt, and that caused a general atmosphere of distrust, which in turn resulted in most people losing their jobs. In addition, over the years we have been following incorrect policies to tackle joblessness. We should have provided education and training. It takes quite a long time to give people this type of education and to see its results. There are many reasons for joblessness, but they come down to the wrong approach followed over the decades in South Africa.

[Reporter] "What do you see as a solution to black unemployment?

[Schwarz] "We have a program whereby work can be provided for people to improve their quality of life. That is to say, we will get people to build their own houses, to upgrade amenities to acceptable standards, to lay down the lines for the required electrical power, and to provide all the infrastructure that is required for modern living. You know, anyone who has built his own house will not set that house on fire. We are sure that we will accomplish two goals: to provide work and to obtain stability in our country. Quite naturally, we should see to it that people are encouraged to employ workers. At present they are inclined to purchase machinery rather than employ people to do the work. This was the greatest mistake in the past. We should also use our money in the best possible way in building cheap industrial sites to stimulate employment. This is what we can all do to tackle unemployment in South Africa.

[Reporter] "How should the money be disbursed to overcome unemployment?"

[Schwarz] "In the first place, let me say I do not believe in giving money to people who are not employed. I think it is better for the people to get money for work performed. That is why we should provide employment opportunities. A person feels much better in receiving money for work that has been performed than in being on the dole. I think it is quite essential that we create opportunities for people to set up new industries, where this can be easily accomplished. In keeping with improving the quality of life, this should be done first within their own residential areas. I think it deserves the highest priority."

[Van der Merwe] "I choose specifically to address myself to white unemployment, because I represent whites in parliament and I fight openly for the rights of whites. But, when you are talking about black workers, the chief cause of unemployment is a very weak government. The government has no plan; it has no plan for agriculture; it has no plan for sorting out our financial problems; it has no plan to solve the unemployment problem. However, the greatest problem with the government is its new political dispensation, in terms of which South Africa is now one undivided country, with 17 percent of its population white and 83 percent other colors. To expect the 17 percent of the population that is white to give employment to the 83 percent that is not is absolutely impossible. That is the problem."

[Reporter] "What solutions do you see to the problem?"

[Van der Merwe] "The solution is a political one: the dispensation of separate development. In other words, there should be different states to allow the creation of a white state, in which the interests of the whites will have precedence in schooling, training, and employment opportunities. In a similar fashion, the Zulu can provide for his own people in Zululand, with their interests coming first. But, I am saying the white interests must have precedence."

[Reporter] "In what other ways, besides the provision of money, can the black unemployment problem be solved?"

[Van der Merwe] "I think money is not the solution. The solution is political. To expect 17 percent of the population to give assistance to people of other colors constantly makes simpletons of white people. Today the white man is being milked by everybody. It is always: Give sir, give sir, give sir. I think it is high time that blacks, Indians, and coloreds began to address the unemployment problems of their people. The white man must attend to the problems of his own people. This is right. Everyone must look after himself. I attend to the whites."

[Reporter] "But money will be needed for these activities."

[Van der Merwe] "Money will be needed, and I think it is high time that the first available funds be used first here in white South Africa for the benefit of whites. If there is something left, it should be handed to the blacks, so that they can now begin to sort out their own problems on their own terms. We can no longer stand being milked any further."

[Du Plessis] "South Africa's unemployment problem is structural, in that the explosive population growth is such that it is impossible to provide enough job opportunities each year. Annual economic growth cannot meet these demands. Another reason we have an unemployment problem in South Africa is the ongoing economic recession that has been with us for years. This, of course, has accentuated the structural unemployment problem. Furthermore, we must remember that for the past 6 years we have suffered long periods of drought, which has a negative impact on the agricultural sector. People employed on farms lost their jobs. Other factors responsible for unemployment are the effects of disinvestment and economic sanctions. These also took their toll on South Africa. Another factor, naturally, is that we have a very limited industrial infrastructure in South Africa and there is a shortage of managerial skills at the executive and middle levels. There is a shortage of skilled manpower in South Africa. Another factor that aggravates the unemployment problem is that the level of technical education of the majority of the population is quite low. The result of all these factors is that the unemployment situation in South Africa has reached a critical level."

[Reporter] "What do you see as a solution to black unemployment?"

[Du Plessis] "Well, you know, the government's standpoint is not to look at the unemployment problem in terms of color. We look at the whole spectrum. In other words, whites, coloreds, Asians, and blacks are taken into account in all the measures that are initiated. We seek to accommodate all groups. Now, the only workable permanent solution to unemployment is the attainment of the highest possible economic growth using our natural resources and other allied resources in South Africa. We must achieve a minimum economic growth of at least 4 and 1/2 percent per year to be able to meet the demand for new jobs. The second solution is to tackle the root cause of unemployment. The high population growth rate must be checked. That is why the government has recently embarked on an ambitious population development scheme, so that the problem can be dealt with right at its source."

[Reporter] "How should money be spent to end unemployment among blacks?"

[Du Plessis] "In 2 years we provided 885 million rand for short-term employment opportunities, as well as for training the unemployed. We had an unbelievable success, because in this period we achieved 850 million work days. As of 31 March this year, we have trained 558,000 persons. What naturally is interesting is that where we tackled the unemployment problem, the climate of unrest subsided."

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CSO: 3400/484



VLOK DISCUSSES BLACK DEMANDS, STATE OF EMERGENCY, PRESS CENSORSHIP

Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Volume 6, 1987 No 1 pp 28, 30, 32

[Interview with Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok by Martin Schneider;  
date and place not given]

[Text]

*Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is the most junior minister in State President PW Botha's cabinet, but wields considerable power as the man mainly responsible for enforcing government's arsenal of security legislation and State of Emergency regulations.*

*Vlok, 49, served in the Department of Justice as a prosecutor, magistrate and undersecretary in the department's head office before becoming private secretary to former Justice Minister Piet Pelser and then a private secretary in the office of former Prime Minister John Vorster. He entered politics in 1974 as Member of Parliament for Verwoerdburg. He was interviewed by Martin Schneider.*

**Schneider:** In the official view, what is the state of unrest in the country and what are the main problems confronting you?

**Vlok:** The main areas of unrest, right from the beginning and still now, are the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area and the Eastern Cape. Unrest started in the Sebokeng area near Vereeniging in September 1984. It spread quickly to the Eastern Cape and the rest of the PWV area.

But I believe visible unrest in the country is under control as far as possible, though I must emphasise that the stone throwing and the petrol bombing is only part of the multi-dimensional revolutionary onslaught in which we are involved. But you can really not say that every facet of unrest is completely under control. It is fanned by a terrorist or-

ganisation which can take its time, which can pick its targets and which can act when it is to its best advantage. One of our problems, of course, is that we don't have enough policemen. We have about 55 000 and that includes the former Railway Police. This means we don't have a ratio of more than two policemen per thousand people. This is one of the lowest ratios in the world. This is simply not enough, particularly when you consider that ordinary crime has risen quite alarmingly. Even if the unrest subsides completely and we win this revolutionary onslaught, we will still need more policemen to combat crime and give better protection to our people, particularly in view of population growth and the worldwide increase in crime.

**Do you plan to expand the police force significantly?**

Yes, I intend to give it a very high priority. I believe in the concept of the Bobby on the Beat. My predecessor announced that we intend to increase the force over a ten year period to about 86 000. This is, of course, a costly operation. But security-wise, we don't have enough manpower and that is why we have to rely heavily on the Defence Force to help us. It is as simple as that.

A further burden on the police results from grievances in our country which the activists and revolutionaries use to their advantage. Grievances in some black townships we have identified are, for example, a lack of proper housing, insufficient educational facilities and, generally, a lack of suitable water and

electricity supplies and proper streets.

And then, of course, they are also exploiting the question of political rights for blacks.

**How far is government prepared to go to meet black demands for political rights?**

This very important issue is in the hands of the State President and a special cabinet committee, but as far as I'm concerned, government is determined – and the State President has said it again and again – that it is prepared to negotiate with blacks for their inclusion in the decision making process up to the highest level. Government is really serious in this regard. We realise that all South Africans must have the opportunity to participate in the politics of the country.

**How urgently does government view the need to redress the political grievances?**

Government is giving the highest priority to that. We have made studies of similar situations in the rest of the world, which show that if you are to win a revolutionary war there are three important aspects which must be borne in mind. You have to address the security situation; secondly, you have to address grievances and bring good government to the ordinary people and, thirdly, you have to address the political situation. This is exactly what government is doing at the moment.

**You say government is looking at the question of political rights. Meanwhile, government says that if the African National Congress renounces violence, it would be prepared to talk to the ANC. What are you prepared to discuss? What is negotiable?**

You must appreciate that with these questions you are taking me completely outside the ambit of my job as Minister of Law and Order. This matter is being given the highest priority by the State President and the special cabinet committee.

**Isn't the political aspect as important as the Law and Order aspect in your portfolio? You might have to fight this war for as long as political grievances exist, so it's imperative that political grievances are negotiated. It gives you a far better chance of restoring order.**

I agree wholeheartedly with you, and what I can say as Minister of Law and Order is this: it is of the utmost importance that we find a political solution that is acceptable to the

majority of all South Africans. Success with this aspect will surely make it more difficult for the activist to create violence and easier for the security forces to maintain law and order. In the meantime, we must have the assurance – and in practice we must have the proof, not only just talk, but we must have the proof – that the ANC, or any organisation with which we are going to discuss the future, will cease all acts of violence, or refrain from violence.

It is part of my job to ensure that these terrorist organisations, such as the ANC, stop their acts of violence against the people of South Africa, not only as propaganda ploys, but in practice. They must prove to the country and they must prove to the people that they have stopped the violence.

**The United Democratic Front and other organisations recently published a controversial advertisement in which they argued that the ANC resorted to violence only after government had refused to enter into negotiations. In fact, one of your senior MPs, Albert Nothnagel, said recently previous prime ministers like Dr Malan and Dr Verwoerd had made a grave error in not talking to the ANC in the Fifties. What options does the ANC have if, more than two decades later, government is still considering the question of black political rights?**

It is, of course, completely false to say that the ANC was banned because we were not prepared to discuss matters with them. It was

banned because of the violence it perpetrated in the country. These facts can be verified. I don't want to comment on opportunities that may or may not have slipped through our fingers in the past. I can't speak for the past. We

can only deal with the situation as it is at present and we say we are prepared to negotiate the future of this country with anybody who is prepared to renounce violence and that includes the ANC. But a very important point – and I want to stress it – is the fact that the ANC is controlled by the South African Communist Party.

The SACP is not interested in any reform in South Africa. It wants to take over political power in this country. And they know that if they should agree to discussions and negotia-

tions around a table without their terrorist wing to help them enforce what they want, they are going to lose. If they should start negotiations with the South African government and all other political groups and parties concerned, they are going to lose and they know it. Then they will not succeed in their ultimate goal which is to grab power and change South Africa, firstly, into a socialist state and afterwards to a classless communist society. If they sit down to discussions they will have to accept a negotiated peace, a negotiated situation, a situation of orderly reform.

#### **Reform on the government's terms?**

Well, we are prepared to discuss reform with them and government is open to suggestions on reform. Let me give you an example. Ten years ago, it was not possible for this, or any, government to get white voters in this country to accept power sharing. When, after negotiation with the groups concerned, government deemed it in the best interests of South Africa, it has been prepared to go to the people and put the issue before them in the referendum of 1983. The result? Today we have power-sharing with coloureds and Indians. This was a major change – a step for reform. Government has, therefore, proved beyond doubt that we are prepared to move closer to the other parties concerned. But you see, this is the point: the ANC and the South African Communist Party are not prepared to move from their goal of taking over power. That is why we are poles apart.

**Certainly, the ANC wants to take over power, but isn't it just as true that government is determined to retain power?**

No. Government is prepared to share power with the various population groups and to broaden the base of real democracy in South Africa. The proof is there for all to see.

#### **On a group, or racial, basis?**

The question of group security and group rights is very important not only to groups all over the world. In many cases, there is clear evidence that it is of the highest importance for population groups to know that their rights are protected. But in the final analysis, this government is prepared to share power and to broaden the base of democracy, to extend it to all the population groups in this country and we have proved that. The SACP and the ANC are not prepared to do that.

**You said earlier you had manpower problems in the police force, that your enemy could strike when it suited him and in a variety of ways. The ANC is a fairly considerable force outside the country and it has a lot of allies inside the country. Can you actually contain unrest and terrorism for a sustained period?**

Yes, it can be done, but your approach must be correct. We have made a study of various examples of revolutionary, terrorist wars over the years. In some cases, they have been won by the governments, but in the majority of countries, the revolutionaries have actually won.

**Statistically, your chances of victory are against you.**

Yes that is so, but I want to come back to point out there are certain basics for success. As I have said, these are: security force actions, good government and a political solution. You must have as a first step actions by the security forces, based on good coordination and good information and, very important, you must be prepared to act against the terrorists and the activists.

Government has been prepared to do that. That is why we have the State of Emergency at the moment, not as a final solution, but as an instrument to establish law and order, stability and orderly reform. Actually, I regard it as the first step because, for instance, the third issue – the question of political rights, the consideration of the constitutional options – will never materialise if you cannot restore and maintain law and order. Because, in an atmosphere of unrest, of violence, of intimidation, the activists will destroy whatever you are trying to achieve.

We have evidence to show that whenever we re-established law and order, people began feeling more secure, children started going back to schools and life began to return to normal. Only then can you move to the second stage and this is the addressing of grievances. You simply can't address the real grievances of the people if there is no law and order. When a situation returns to normal, you find that people, the ordinary man in the street, start telling us where the terrorists are and who assists them. They also provide us with a host of other information. That has been our experience over the past six months. People realise now that they are more secure, that the security forces are protecting them against the activists, against the arsonists,

against the terrorists killing and murdering them.

When stability has been restored and people start feeling more secure, you must start with the second issue – good government for them. The government must prove to them that it cares for them, that they are important, that they have something to lose, that there is something that they can fight for. This is why it is so important that they must have houses of their own, that they must own part of the land; it must be theirs. Then they will stand up and fight those people who want to burn down their houses and take away their land. The third issue is equally important – the question of constitutional, political rights for the people. It must be solved to the satisfaction of the majority of the people involved. These three things go hand in hand. If we should do as some countries have done in the past – solve only the first or the second and leave out the third – we will, for sure, lose this revolutionary war. But at the same time, if we leave out the first two basic principles – the law and order, and the good government – and you concentrate only on the political aspects, we are going to lose too. This is a fact and the government very well realises this. It is because of this knowledge and our determination, that we are going to win this war.

**How do you know that blacks actually want the type of reform that you have in mind?**

Well, we don't know for sure and that is why it is so necessary, so urgent, that they should come and sit around a table with us so that we can start talking about what they have in mind.

**So we are in a kind of Catch 22 situation. The violence won't stop until political rights are granted, or seized, and government won't talk about political rights until the violence stops.**

We are in a kind of Catch 22 situation. But once again, we must see this in perspective. It is only with the terrorist and other radical, violent organisations that government has problems with discussions. Government has, for instance, already negotiated political rights with all the independent homeland leaders, people who are true, elected leaders of their peoples. Government has also negotiated political rights with the elected leaders of the national states. The only remaining people are the blacks who live in the cities, and in the areas outside the homelands

and the national states. This last obstacle we'll solve, of that I am sure.

**With the State of Emergency regulations and recent Press curbs prohibiting**

**publication, without official permission, of information relating to unrest and the security forces, we have to rely on people like you to tell us what is happening. How do we know that the information government is supplying**

**presents a true picture of the country?**

You can't fool people and they can look around and see for themselves what is happening in the country. However, I want to stress that we are supplying all the information we can on everything that is happening and is of public importance. That I can assure you. We give all the basic information, but, of course, we don't give the story behind the story. We can't do that but we are constantly looking at ways to give even more information. And if there is any more information, we must give as much as possible to the public. There are times when we have to restrict information because it could hamper an investigation, or be to the advantage of our enemies. But I want to stress that the South African Police is giving all the information that can be made available, whether good or bad.

**What information can you give us?**

I believe it is vitally important to keep the public truthfully informed about any given situation. It quashes rumours, motivates people and brings about a sense of security and responsibility. The public is entitled to know what is happening around it, but at the same time it is equally entitled to the truth. Therefore, government has a duty and a responsibility to protect its citizens from lies, distortions and wilful bias. The restrictions placed on the media in terms of Emergency regulations are, therefore, not designed to withhold information from the public, but to protect it from lies and untruths. Therefore, to answer your question – what information can we give? – I want to say: everything, as long as it is the truth and as long as it does not hamper an investigation, or be of such im-

portance to our enemy that it could be used to their advantage.

**Aren't we getting ourselves into the same situation as white Rhodesians before the independence elections? Government controlled information and, for example, led the electorate to believe, and indeed it did believe, that Bishop Muzorewa would win comfortably and that Mr Mugabe could muster only minority support.**

There are dangers in this regard. I will concede that, but government will not fall into this trap. That is why I am in favour of giving the maximum information to the population in order that they can decide for themselves. They must, however, also not be led astray. We must also take into account the fact that while a large proportion of the population are highly sophisticated people who can decide for themselves, many of us can be led astray by half truths, emotional slogans, intimidation and so on. We have to handle a situation in which everything government does – and we can prove this – is presented by some to the masses as bad or wrong. On the other hand, everything the enemy does is being presented to the masses as good. I am for a balanced picture, so that the people can decide for themselves. But then it must be factual and unbiased. That is what we are trying to create.

**Do we really have a balanced picture when we are presented with information from only one source? Isn't it true, as someone said recently, that South Africans read more about what Princess Di is wearing than what is actually happening in their own country? Many issues can't even be debated.**

Yes, the picture can be balanced if the information is factual and unbiased. A terrorist organisation will never supply you with correct information. Its aim is not to enlighten; it is to confuse.

But I think a lively debate is taking place. Issues in the country are being debated on every level, but we have evidence that for the past two years the picture that has been put before the majority of our population, was not a balanced one. It was full of lies and half truths. That is why we have put an end to it. We couldn't carry on like this.

It is a false perception that our enemies will allow free debate and free elections. Our enemies will also not allow our people to decide for themselves. They are forcing them to decide by way of intimidation and deeds of terror – like the necklace. Government can't compete on this level, but it has to stop the intimidation and the spreading of fear and inciting material.

In a revolutionary war, the revolutionary uses every means at his disposal to get the support of the people. Like any conventional political party, Bishop Muzorewa tried to get the support of the people by way of talking and discussion. The revolutionary will do the same, but, like the ANC, he will use a military wing – the ANC uses Umkhonto we Sizwe – to tell the people to do this, or else. In these circumstances, any ordinary political party will lose out every time. And nothing will be left of the freedoms that we all cherish.

**Government had added to its long-standing powers under the Internal Security Act, extensive additional powers under the State of Emergency. If unrest is under control, why did it recently introduce additional Press restrictions?**

Only the visible signs of unrest – the stone throwing, the petrol bombing and so on – have died down. But the propaganda war is continuing. It has even been intensified. Although we have been able to curb the visible signs of unrest, the revolutionaries have stepped up their propaganda war against the country. We have seen this in the townships. Inciting pamphlets and leaflets with communist and revolutionary messages are increasingly being used, and we have seen a rapid growth in the so-called alternative media. They have been published more regularly and they have been stepping up the propaganda war, not only against the country, but also against the security forces. There is nothing preventing any newspaper from criticising the government. You may criticise the National Party. But because it is a well-known strategy of the revolutionaries to damage the image and morale of the security forces, we have to protect them against lies and half-truths. As they are still accountable for their actions, we are very careful to ensure that they don't overstep or misuse their powers. Very strict control is being exercised in this regard.

**How many people are in detention?**

Not really as many as is claimed by some, but it is not in the interests of the security of South Africa to supply this information.

**If the extreme right wing parties make progress in the coming general election for whites, will government slow down its reform programme?**

No, not if I listen to our State President. Further, as I have explained, if one wants to win this war, and I am confident that we are winning, then it is of the utmost importance that we should continue with reform. I also believe that the majority of whites in this country are moderates who believe in the

need for reform and will stand together in the best interests of South Africa. They will give government a clear mandate to continue with reforms that we need for a peaceful and prosperous South Africa.

**Do you believe blacks perceive the police as protectors, or as a force which is simply maintaining the power of a government whose policies they reject?**

If we are not seen as protectors then we must change that perception because we are the protectors and the servants of this country and all its peoples. This is a very high priority with me and I'll do my utmost to prove that. I am very proud of the South African Police Force. They are dedicated to their task and are prepared to fulfil our motto: "We protect you and we serve you."

/9317

CS0: 3400/470

## NEWLY FORMED INFANTRY ASSOCIATION TO SIGN UP NEW MEMBERS

Pretoria ARMED FORCES in English Mar 87 p 29

[Text]

The recently formed South African Infantry Association has now completed its ground work and is ready to sign up members. With National Headquarters in Pretoria the new association has not wasted any time and has established regional branches at each of the SADF Territorial Commands. Only a few months old the association already has a paid-up membership of over 1 000 and has set itself a target of 10 000 by the end of the year. With well over 200 000 serving and ex-Infanteers to draw from, this is by no means an unrealistic figure.

It is interesting to hear that members of the Commandos are showing a keen interest in the association with many becoming members. Membership is open to any man or woman who has served in the SA Infantry for not less than 12 months, or who has been associated with the Corps in other ways or have actively supported it for a similar period.

The National Committee includes the following members:

Chairman: General A J Van Deventer

Vice Chairman: Brigadier J S Van Heerden

National Secretary: Cmdt A Swanevelder

National Treasurer: Col J S Bradley

The Committee has formulated a number of aims and objectives for the association which are briefly.

- To verify and develop the infantry culture and tradition.
- to maintain the history of the SA Infantry and Infantry Units.
- To foster corps-pride and camaraderie.
- To create a constructive competitive spirit by the promoting of corps identity and pride.
- To develop transit facilities at Infantry Units.
- To acquire holiday accommodation for members.
- To create a source of information on better facilities and services in specific areas to assist newcomers on arrival there.
- To create a mouthpiece for the Infantry which will promote the Association's aims.
- To develop, in the long-term, an Academic High School where pupils can be instilled with military schooling and pride.

- To consider the provision of suitable facilities for ex-servicemen and especially the war-wounded.

The idea of establishing a Military type of High School is of special interest and should enjoy wide support.

Young, not so young, and older Infanteers who are interested in becoming members of the association should contact their local branch via the regional Army Command.

*\* Bokkop (singular); Bokkoppe (plural); is one of the more polite names used by other formations to describe the 'Queen of the Battle' — the South African Infantry. It refers to the Springbuck's head worn as a beret/cap label badge by the Corps.*

/9317

CSO: 3400/470



## NEW TRAINING PROGRAM INTRODUCED FOR THOSE IN MILITARY DETENTION

Pretoria ARMED FORCES in English Mar 87 pp 19, 20, 21

[Text]

In the old days it used to be known as 'Kelly's Home' but in these times no-one seems to remember just who Kelly was. During and after the last war some of the staff such as Staff Sergeant 'Spike' Jones were perhaps better known to the Military miscreants and generally held in awe, rather than the actual institution itself.

Early last December the South African Defence Force Detention Barracks at Voortrekkerhoogte slammed its doors for the last time when its staff and inmates moved to the vacant civil prison at Boksburg.

The move from Voortrekkerhoogte to Boksburg has coincided with the introduction of a completely new and, what appears to be, a very practical approach to military detention barrack procedures. This new approach is in part due to a report rendered by a Commission of Inquiry that was appointed to investigate and make recommendations in respect of all aspects of the existing military detention system.

Generally speaking time spent by soldiers in detention has been an expensive exercise which apart from the punishment aspect being without any degree of productivity whatsoever. When it is considered that approximately 40% of the inmates are serving sentences for what are misdemeanours rather than crimes, the cost factors involved in the old form of corrective punishment were enormous. The new policy being introduced is based on the theory that as far as possible in future the DB will return a fit and better trained military man to the units.

To achieve these aims Detention Barrack and attached staff will in future conduct a number of courses for the inmates which will be over and above the normal corrective training procedures. The following courses have been approved and it is anticipated that others will be added to the 'inhouse' curriculum:

**Storeman****Administrative Clerk****Driver and Maintenance****Communications****\* Chef (assistant)****\* Medical Orderly**

*\* Training of chefs and medical orderlies is still in planning stage and will be subject to the requirements.*

In most instances the existing personnel are course qualified to instruct in these specialities and very little if any extra instructional backup is necessary.

It is planned that in an 'in house course' qualified men will be eligible for early parole over and above the normal allowed 25% remission of sentence for good behaviour. (See Table A.)

The Detention Barracks caters for two types of detainees, those awaiting trial and those serving a sentence imposed by either a Summary Trial held at the soldier's unit — limited to 40 days, a Courts Marital subject to the MDC or imposed by a civil court, which stipulates that the sentence will be served in a Detention Barracks.

The majority of prisoners are drawn from a single socio-economic group, too many of whom are sentenced to DB for being absent without leave. Normally a sentence imposed by a summary trial or courts martial for being AWOL is in the first instance suspended and only comes into effect for a second offence of a similar nature. In many of these, after listening to numerous courts martial dealing with AWOL cases, the question can be asked if accused took advantage of the channels that were open to him. Time and again the plea in mitigation is that there was trouble at home and the man went AWOL with the intent of being able to resolve the domestic problems. The tragedy in too many of the cases is that his presence in many instances would only add to any problem, if such existed, but that in the main no real problem existed in the first instance. It too often being the product of a combination usually that of a low IQ and a fertile imagination. An important factor found by law enforcement agencies all over the world.

This type of offence is costing the SADF millions of rand each year and a better understanding of the motivating factors behind this kind of behaviour by the individual from this socio-economic group and the usage of the facilities that exist at unit level, would go a long way to reduce the prison population and unnecessary costs.

The new programme includes the requirement that all awaiting trial prisoners be interviewed by the Legal Officer who advises them of the probable attitude of the Court in their particular case. It has been found that this practice is producing a far better degree of stability amongst the awaiting trial detainees. Normally the natural tendency of attempting to escape added to the work of the staff but it has been found that the new review procedure by the Legal Officer has resulted in an acceptance of the facts of life by the awaiting detainees.

An interesting factor that has resulted from these discussions between the Legal Officer and the prisoner committed to the DB for the implementation of sentence, has been that in a few cases trial irregularities have come to light that has resulted in the Legal Officer referring

the case in question back up the line for investigation.

Prisoners sent to the DB to serve a sentence are first subjected to an evaluation phase of seven days, after which they are allocated to the next phase of the rehabilitation training programme. These phases depend on the length of the sentence and consist of phases 4 to 6. Each prisoner undergoes an evaluation phase of 7 days on admission to the DB. The short term prisoners serving sentences of up to 60 days follow the normal routine of phase 2 and 3, as it is not practical to involve them in any development training due to their short periods of detention.

During their period of detention for periods in excess of 60 days, prisoners are graded into three grades: C, B, or A. As the prisoner progresses from grade C, he enjoys more privileges (as is shown in Table B). It must be emphasised that the inmates are not being sent to a training institution, they are prisoners undergoing corrective punishment and the development training is over and above and in addition to the corrective training. Drill takes up to 4 hours, 30 minutes per weekday and 2 hours, 15 mins. on a Saturday.

During the number of visits made to the DB at Boksburg staff members were most co-operative and it was not a case of having someone either with you or standing behind you while you talked to any prisoner. What was noticeable from previous visits to DBs was that the prisoners appeared to be more willing to converse, it was not a question of them taking advantage of an extra 'talk break' to avoid drill. The conversations that I had usually took place during an official break. One point that came across loud and clear, a point that will gratify all old soldiers, is that not one of the inmates spoken to wanted to return again as a guest of the SADF.

Two factors that I understand have contributed to this, what is perhaps best described as the civilised behaviour found at the DB, are the two FFs. Food and Fairness. The food is good and the treatment fair, both being continuously monitored by the senior staff.

### TABLE A

The 6 phases being implemented for training are designed for practical purposes and consist of a varying number of 40 minute periods.

Phase 1 of 7 days duration, 2 and 3 are for the rest of the short term prisoners.

Phases 4 to 6 are from 28 to 60 days duration.

Each phase can supplement another and are planned to enable them to be slotted together to teach a speciality.

As an example, a man arriving for a 60 day or more period will first be placed on phases 1, 2 and 3, and will then go to either 4, 5 or 6 to learn the particular speciality. If for instance the man is to be trained as a clerk, he will go to phase 4, and will during the 28 day period complete 252 periods of instruction, in addition to 81 periods of drill and 87 periods of physical training. (All drill and movement within the DB is done at double time.)

The combined rehabilitation training schedule provides a very full programme and on average will consist of 69 periods of 40 minutes per week.

On weekdays the programme starts at 04,15 and finishes with lights out at 20,50.

On Saturdays at 04,45 until lights out at 20,50.

On Sundays at 05,25 until lights out at 20,50.

Saturday is treated as a normal workday, while on Sundays the daily schedule makes provision for a Church Parade, visitors and includes periods of confinement to cells.

### TABLE B

A Group	<p>One Contact * visit per week of 2 hours duration of up to 4 persons.          Write and receive 4 letters per week.          Receive parcels, food, reading material.          Possess a Radio/Tape          Carry own cigarettes.          Spend up to R6,00 per week in canteen.</p>
B Group	<p>Two Contact visits per month of 2 hours duration of up to 2 persons.          Write and receive 2 letters per week.          Smoke 6 cigarettes per day.          Spend up to R4,00 per week in canteen.</p>
C Group	<p>One Contact visit of 1 hour per month of 1 person.          Write and receive 1 letter per week.          Smoke 3 cigarettes per day.          Spend up to R2,00 per week in canteen.</p>
D Group	<p>One visit or 1 hour's duration per month of one person (No contact).          Write and receive one letter per week.          Smoke 3 cigarettes per day.          Spend up to R2,00 per week in canteen.</p>

\* (A contact visit allows a prisoner to have physical contact with his visitors.)

/9317

CSO: 3400/470

MINISTER VOWS TO DEPORT ILLEGAL MOZAMBICAN REFUGEES

MB270825 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0108 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] Givani March 27 SAPA--The illegal coming and going of Mozambican refugees between their country and South Africa would not be tolerated and offenders would be punished and deported, the minister of national health and population development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said today.

Opening a session of Gazankulu legislative assembly, he said that 19,358 Mozambican refugees had been registered and issued with temporary permits to remain in South Africa and in Gazankulu.

Events in Mozambique had triggered off an exodus of people which had become an embarrassment, and it was a matter of "grave concern" to the South African Government.

He regretted the reasons for these people finding it necessary to leave their country and said it was accepted that short-term assistance should be given on humanitarian grounds.

"However, we also have clear evidence of a movement through the Kruger National Park of returning Mozambican aliens, some of them on a regular commuter basis," he said. "Their illegal coming and going between Mozambique and the Republic will not be tolerated and offenders will be punished and deported."

There was also evidence that many illegal Mozambicans were using Gazankulu as a stepping stone to enter the heartland of South Africa--especially the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area where they had become part of the illegal alien workforce. "Their presence worsens our already troublesome unemployment problem while their wives and children are cared for in Gazankulu as refugees." When found in South Africa, but outside Gazankulu, they would be repatriated and their provisional permits withdrawn.

He said that in the last year 19,081 "infiltrators" had been returned to Mozambique.

Humanitarian considerations should not be allowed to soften the hearts of South Africans to the extent that visitors conveniently forgot to "obey the rules of the house."

"Our primary concern will remain the care of our own people."

Dr van Niekerk said it should be remembered that Mozambique's internal situation was the main reason for the influx of illegal workseekers and displaced persons. "This will endure in all its horrors for the foreseeable future, and we will be obliged to continue to deal with this situation for as long as it persists."

The question facing the government was what to do with the illegal aliens in the medium and long term.

/6662

CSO: 3400/384

## BRIEFS

'SINISTER WEAPONS LINK' WITH U.S.--The minister of defense, General Magnus Malan, says President Reagan's enemies are trying to disparage his administration by creating the suspicion that he is involved in some sinister weapons link with South Africa. Speaking at the opening of the Bloemfontein show, Gen Malan referred to speculation and the casting of suspicion that South Africa was involved in certain weapons agreements. He said that throwing suspicion of this kind about armaments was part of the onslaught against South Africa. It was also being used to try to replace President Reagan's administration with a more liberal government. Gen Malan said that South African policy in respect of arms exports was well known. It included withholding the names of customers of the country. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 28 Mar 87 MB] /6662

RSA ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA--The minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, says he is confident that all countries in Southern Africa will realize eventually that no solutions to the problems of the region will be possible without South Africa. Mr Botha said at Rustenburg that the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique was proof of what could be achieved despite ideological differences. He said South Africa would play a leading role in the search for solutions. Although there would be successes and failures, South Africa would continue on the road it had chosen. Mr Botha said one of the principles was that a country should not make available its soil as a springboard for terrorist attacks. He said where states allowed this South Africa would not hesitate to strike back across its borders. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

SADF PROTESTS TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS--Pretoria, March 27, SAPA--The security forces are protecting township inhabitants because witnesses to a necklacing can as little think for themselves as necklace victims, the defence minister, Gen Magnus Malan, said tonight. Addressing a public meeting at Lydenburg in support of NP candidate and Manpower Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis, he said the nature of fear and intimidation was such that the security forces would remain in the townships for as long as its inhabitants were threatened. Terrorists could only come to power through violence and would only govern through violence. No talks could be held with such people, Gen Malan said. The National Party had a choice of giving the black man a hand of friendship or of delivering him to the burning techniques of the revolutionaries. "The National Party chooses dialogue and constructional work on the South Africa of the year 2000 for all our children," he said. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1657 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

MINORITY EDUCATION BUDGET INCREASE URGED--The minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, says the financial allocations for universities and technicons for black persons is relatively favorable compared to whites, coloreds, and Indians, when the subsidy formula is applied. The financial allocations for black and colored schools and colleges is however less favorable compared to whites and Indians. In his address to a graduating class at the Vaal Triangle Campus in Potchefstroom, Dr Viljoen said in the light of the background of eliminating differences and inequalities in the educational systems of blacks and colored, it is quite clear that whatever money is set aside for education in the future, the greatest proportion of it must be channelled to the black and colored communities. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 0830 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

MALAN WARNS OF CROSSBORDER RAIDS ON ANC--South African Defense Minister Magnus Malan has warned that security forces will cross borders to wipe out ANC guerrillas. At a meeting in Lichtenburg over the weekend, the minister said the neighboring states cannot afford to provide safety to guerrillas and the SADF would, in his words, sniff out any ANC members. Malan's warning came only a day after President P.W. Botha said in Ermelo that South Africa would cross the borders again in pursuit of the ANC. South Africa's previous invasions of Frontline States have drawn worldwide condemnation. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 30 Mar 87] /8309

CSO: 3400/484

UNISA'S KARL HOFMEYR DISCUSSES ISSUE OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Cape Town A WAY OF LIFE: A LEADERSHIP CORPORATE PUBLICATION in English  
Mar 87 pp 35-38

[Article by Karl Hofmeyr]

[Text]

The issue of black advancement is not unique to South Africa. In the United States, for instance, this has been a focus of attention since the Eighties. However, South Africa is now under the spotlight. The disinvestment and sanctions debate in the US and Europe has put multinational companies under pressure to justify their existence in South Africa. This pressure has given rise to a variety of codes of employment practice, of which the most widely used is the Sullivan Code. One of the important items in this code is black advancement and it is receiving increasing attention. During December 1986, at the Sullivan Signatories' Convention, the progress of companies in this area was singled out as a focus for investigation and debate.

In the local arena, too, there are new, powerful pressures on this area. In black communities there is a growing socialist orientation and an hostility to capitalism which is seen as the handmaiden of apartheid in exploiting and oppressing blacks. These sentiments place the future of the free enterprise system at risk and so threaten the survival of local multinational companies. In this context, black advancement is an area in which a company's *bona fides* are tested.

Demographic movements and trends constitute fundamental challenges. The inexorable salience of demography indicates that if companies are to adequately staff their organisations, they will have to fill skilled and

management positions with blacks because the supply of whites will be inadequate in the future.

In the face of these international and local pressures, what progress has been achieved? The relevant statistics speak for themselves. Whereas 80% of the economically active population in South Africa comprises black, coloured and Asian workers, the highly skilled and managerial positions in companies remain the almost exclusive preserve of whites. In the managerial category, for example, about 95% of the jobs are occupied by this group. This imbalance exists although manpower specialists have stressed over the years that the country simply cannot continue to rely on whites to meet its requirements for high level manpower. Companies constantly refer to their affirmative action and black advancement efforts, but the reality is that they have only promoted about 300 black, coloured or Asian employees into their managerial ranks each year during the last two decades. Manpower forecasts indicate that they need to promote more than 10 times this number annually during the next decade.

A number of reasons are put forward by experts (usually white) to explain why there has been so little progress. Firstly, it is argued that the white-dominated, Western bias in South African business puts most blacks entering the work place at a disadvantage. Basic business principles as well as business values, con-



cepts and terminology are likely to be foreign to many new employees. Depending on their level of education, many will have difficulty communicating in one of the languages of business, namely English or Afrikaans, and their education probably has not emphasised qualities prized in business, such as a questioning attitude, assertiveness or skills in critical analysis. Most will not have completed 12 years' schooling because slightly less than 1% of all black workers have a standard 10 or higher qualification.

Another explanation is the existence of racial discrimination in business. Many managers argue that discrimination is still a dominant force in South African companies and that it is found in every sphere of life, from legislation which dictates where people can live to the attitudes of white bosses towards their black employees. They note that legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, has prevented blacks and whites from mixing and communicating normally outside the work place and so an important basis for mutual understanding and acceptance is missing. On the shop floor itself, more blatant negative attitudes founded on fear and prejudice are seen to block advancement, while at lower and middle management levels, negative attitudes also exist but express themselves in a more subtle form. These managers profess to support black advancement but do nothing actively to support affirmative action programmes.

Manpower specialists suggest a third reason why there are relatively few blacks in senior positions: many companies simply do not perceive a need to advance blacks, or they do not want to. They are not alarmed by forecasts which predict serious manpower shortages and argue that they have managed to staff their senior positions with whites in the past and can continue to do so in the future. Some rationalise that the investment in time and money to train and advance blacks is prohibitive, while others argue that they cannot risk a backlash from their white workers.

Despite the perceived problems and barriers, many enlightened companies have invested heavily in programmes to train and promote black employees. Some have had limited success, but many remain frustrated by the lack of real progress.

How do blacks perceive the issues? Interviews and surveys of black employees identify the same recurring themes. One of the problems they feel particularly strongly about is the nature of the training provided for black employees. Many upwardly mobile blacks maintain that insufficient attention is paid to their individual development needs. They find themselves participating in generic programmes which may have little to do with what they perceive to be their personal training requirements and consequently gain the impression that some of the programmes are being offered simply to prove the company is concerned about black advancement.

Many of the programmes are presented exclusively for blacks because, it is argued, blacks are different and need special treatment. Increasingly, blacks are rejecting this approach as paternalistic and counter-productive. They stress that whites and blacks can learn from each other and that a non-racial learning environment is essential for practical and psychological reasons.

Blacks also insist that for development and advancement to take place they will need the same opportunities, experience and exposure as their white counterparts. They point out that people become proficient at their jobs not by attending formal training programmes, but by being given a meaningful job and by having peers and supervisors who are prepared to encourage and guide them. Whites have easier access to this kind of support, while the potential black manager tends not to be accepted and involved in the same way.

A black manager explaining the different treatment of white and black management trainees, observed: "The white employee is immediately and automatically surrounded by a network of support. His boss and colleagues start working with him, explaining things, getting to know him. The black employee does not have the same experience. His colleagues are rather more tentative in their relations with him; some avoid him. He does not easily become part of the team. In some cases he is given a manual and simply told to 'start working through it'. It is not easy for him to learn the job and to start feeling comfortable."

Formal training has a role to play, particularly in the development of skills, but black

trainees realise that the most meaningful development takes place in a work setting. They also know that if they learn something in a formal training programme they must have the opportunity to apply the new skills and they suggest that not enough attention is paid to reinforcing what is learned. Formal training programmes make a company feel it is doing something positive, but without opportunities for application and support from colleagues at the office, the behaviour of the trainee does not change.

Another problem experienced by black employees is the relative absence of black role models. The upwardly mobile black has few examples of successful blacks with whom he can identify and he wonders whether blacks can make it in management. The small number of black managers also confirms the prejudice of conservative whites that blacks cannot succeed in business. The average white manager does not have the experience of working with and learning from black counterparts. The typical white/black relationship in most companies is based on white superiority and there are not enough instances where blacks manage or compete equally with whites, to change this relationship.

Black managers also identify negative attitudes as a major constraint. In many instances these are covert and express themselves, for example, in neutrality. If a potential manager needs guidance and support, his supervisor simply needs to maintain a distance between himself and the employee and development will be severely hampered. Blacks recognise neutrality as the most dangerous kind of informal resistance because it cannot be identified easily and because it is so effective. (Even in the United States, where integration and affirmative action are actively encouraged, an estimated 15% of white Americans are extremely anti-black and 60% are more or less neutral and conform to socially approved behaviour.)

The circumstances in which most blacks live and the impact of racial discrimination have a profound effect on black workers. As a black manager put it: "Prolonged deprivation creates a subculture of its own - blacks are constantly told that they are incompetent and they begin to believe this; they have feelings of being incapable. This is complicated by prolonged af-

fluence on the part of whites which leads to a subculture of feelings of superiority."

Research in the United States into the effects of racial discrimination on the psychological development of black children, particularly those in ghettos, has found that they grow up with an ever-increasing awareness of their shortcomings and with an inability to embark hopefully on any course of action that might make things better. Discrimination and derogatory comments eventually damage feelings of self-worth. This has direct implications for motivation and performance because feelings of self-worth and self-esteem form the basis of confidence, assertiveness and mental health.

Another barrier experienced by black employees is what may be described as the company's "culture". This reflects "how things are done" in a company and determines what is acceptable. The culture in South African organisations is Western and "white", with an emphasis on individuality, assertiveness, risk-taking and competition.

The upwardly mobile black employee may or may not be individualistic or a risk-taker, but he feels that his white colleagues don't give him the benefit of the doubt. He is black and therefore doesn't "fit". More seriously, he may be assumed to be affiliation-orientated or group-minded, and lacking in initiative. This is a prevailing stereotype among whites about blacks.

The company culture is also expressed in social norms and activities such as "in jokes", the club, golf and dinner at the boss's home. It implicitly dictates who is acceptable and who should succeed, and the potential black manager realises that he is at a disadvantage. The informal standards which make up the culture are not spelled out so that even if he wanted to play by the rules, he would not know precisely how to conform. As a result he finds himself operating on the fringes as an outsider looking in. He is subtly rejected by the system by his exclusion from the informal networks and the all-important political "buddy" system. To get ahead he knows that he needs cooperative relationships, friendships and help from colleagues and superiors, but as an outsider, or someone treated as an outsider, he realises he cannot do as well.

Interviews with black managers highlight the effects of these formal and informal forces.

Many find themselves caught in a web in which they are uncertain and often confused. The messages which they receive are unclear and contradictory and the people they work with seem alternately supportive and then distant.

Blacks also observe that in some cases white managers apply double standards. Qualities praised in whites are not acceptable when displayed by blacks. For example, when black candidates are interviewed, those who show an interest in politics are branded as trouble-makers. When a black supervisor questions a decision by his boss or shows some assertiveness, he is being too aggressive. The effect on the potential black manager is debilitating and unless he is particularly strong-willed, he becomes conditioned to conform to the stereotype expected of him.

Equally debilitating is the extra "filter" through which the black manager has to receive feedback and try to understand the signals he is getting. If a white manager is overlooked for a promotion or receives a bad performance appraisal, he may question the boss's judgement or his own competence. The black manager has these doubts, but the question also lurks at the back of his mind: "Is it because I'm black?" He tries to separate prejudice from objective reality but he is never sure where the problem originates. This makes it difficult to decide how to deal with the situation.

Black managers also feel they are walking a tightrope as they try to satisfy a number of different expectations and constituencies. They find themselves having to be assertive, but not too assertive, friendly but not too familiar, enthusiastic but not too emotional. They sometimes find themselves caught between white management and black workers, expected by management to be its spokesmen but also expected by workers to be their representatives.

More recently, political polarisation in the community has added an extra dimension to this conflict because radical groups are putting pressure on upwardly mobile blacks not to become part of management. There have been numerous instances where blacks have refused promotion because of the strength of this pressure. Thus, in addition to trying to compete with their white counterparts, black managers are surrounded by opposing tensions and need to balance a number of conflicting forces.

Many blacks now believe that black advancement is defined too narrowly as the upward mobility of blacks into senior positions. They believe that if companies are serious about black advancement they have to become more actively involved in changing the social and political environment in which they operate. The apartheid structures are a major constraint on what can be achieved. If business is to have legitimacy among blacks they have to show they are concerned with the whole person and the whole society.

The response of most companies to black advancement has been to take a narrow and somewhat formal approach. Perceived performance problems have been identified and training programmes have been designed to address these problems.

Some years ago the popular approach was behaviour modelling: "What blacks and their white supervisors need is interpersonal skills so that communication and relationships can be improved. We should change behaviour first and then attitudes will improve." The next trend was "achievement training" based on the argument that blacks are not successful because their orientation is affiliation, rather than achievement-based.

In the last five years, numerous companies have also developed "bridging education" programmes designed to prepare black school leavers or graduates for entry into the business world. They address areas such as learning skills, interactive skills, basic business principles, problem-solving and decision-making. More recently we have been told that mentorship programmes will make a difference. The argument here is that whites have access to mentors who can counsel and sponsor them, but because blacks do not have the same access, "mentors" should be appointed.

All these approaches have their proponents and their critics. Blacks themselves are critical of some of the programmes because they have not been involved in their inception and design, and because some are perceived as discriminatory and paternalistic, or based on assumptions and stereotypes rather than facts.

The underlying problem of these programmes is that they represent a technical or *ad hoc* response to the challenge of accelerated advancement. They are peripheral to the main activities of the company. They address isolated aspects of performance and, at best,

lead to improvements in interpersonal skills, assertiveness, supervisory skills and the like. The various programmes have not led to significant increases in the numbers of black managers.

There is a growing awareness that the focus of black advancement has to shift from programmes to process. This implies that, among other things, top management and line managers throughout the organisation have become involved if progress is to be made. As long as responsibility for black advancement rests with the human resources department and depends on formal training programmes, very little will be achieved. At the same time, blacks themselves must be involved in the design and implementation of advancement initiatives.

A second theme which is emerging is a new awareness by some companies of the black manager's marginal position in organisations. The inconsistencies, ambiguities, conflicts and uncertainties referred to earlier are fundamental barriers to learning and advancement. It is clear that the potential black manager is not part of that mainstream in an organisation in which white employees are shaped and developed as a natural part of their working experience. Thus significant progress will occur only when the conditions and attitudes in a company are normalised to the extent that a black employee receives treatment and opportunities which are similar to those of his white counterparts. As noted earlier, this also implies that business has to become far more actively engaged in attempting to change educational, social and other variables which make it impossible to achieve this objective. A more holistic approach is needed in which the qualitative issues of integration, acceptance and organizational culture are addressed.

Finally, there are now suggestions that possibly the "white" model of management has to be adapted to incorporate some African values and approaches. This argument carries risk of stereotyping, but if blacks tend to display and use emotions more openly than whites, if they tend to be more open and straightforward in their interactions, and if they feel more comfortable working in groups than individually, then perhaps South Af-

rica's management style has to incorporate and build on these characteristics.

The Western business model cannot be applied by whites without taking into account the values and strengths of blacks: there has to be accommodation on both sides. Twenty five years ago, Simon Biesheuvel hinted at this when he said: "Perhaps the answer lies, after all, in a blending of the two cultural streams, the tempering of Western 'go-getting', artificiality and materialism with African relaxation, spontaneity and spirituality, the displacement of African inertia and sensuality by some of the enlightenment and idealism of the West."

More recently C E W Simkins refers to "cultural creation: this involves developing new practices, new styles of interaction . . . all that is needed is some talent and the belief that a new integrated culture is possible".

During the next five years South African companies will be severely tested. In the face of political and economic uncertainty they will have to try to manage and motivate all their employees. They will also have to contend with increasing shortages of skilled and management employees which can only be improved if they find ways to increase significantly the rate at which blacks, coloureds, and Asians move into senior positions. Unfortunately their attempts over the past five years have met with very little success and they will need to considerably expand and change the nature of their efforts.

It is not only at the level of manpower demand and supply that black advancement is important. The stakes have become much higher. The private sector is showing increased willingness to challenge the existence of inequalities and injustices in South Africa. Business leaders are speaking out on the need for far-reaching reform. However, for their demands to be credible and for their *bona fides* to be accepted by the black community, they have to do far more within their own corporations to eradicate discrimination, equalise opportunities and move substantial numbers of blacks into senior positions. The moral basis of their stand against government and their credibility among blacks is weakened if they have not put their own house in order.

TUTU CRITICAL OF CREDIT EXTENSION AGREEMENT

MB030849 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0841 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Cape Town Apr 3 SAPA--International banks had done black South Africans "a great disservice" by extending credit to the government without extracting guarantees that apartheid would be eliminated, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Addressing a packed lunchtime meeting of the Institute of Citizenship in the St George's Cathedral Hall, Archbishop Tutu said it appeared that the country's creditors had adopted a softer attitude towards South Africa as a direct result of the government's "strong-arm tactics" and reports that the state of emergency was to be extended. "These international bodies are prolonging the misery of blacks," he told the audience.

It was a measure of the split between black and white attitudes that while whites were "ecstatic" about the anticipated economic upswing, blacks believed it would only bring more political and economic exploitation. He said that an economic recovery coupled with an extended state of emergency would compound white complacency and a false sense of security. The alienation of black from white enabled the government to create an illusion of perfect quiet, "but underneath it is seething," he said.

"Blacks do not want reform. Revolution is a word most of us want to run away from but it means radical change and it doesn't necessarily have to be accompanied by violence."

Blacks would also not accept the government's "darlings" as their leaders. "The people know who their leaders are. Why do whites believe we are such slow thinkers that we cannot make a choice? They are repeating the Muzorewa syndrome."

Archbishop Tutu said many whites had been "shocked out of their skins" to discover Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was urbane, educated and articulate and urged the reconciliation of black and white. "You are going to be doubly surprised when you meet Oliver Tambo," he said to loud applause.

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CSO: 3400/483

BUTHELEZI URGES DEVELOPMENT TO HALT FACTION FIGHTING

MB031649 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1502 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Durban April 3 SAPA--Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu says faction fighting halts development, but only development will finally halt faction fighting. He said development projects would have to be undertaken in the areas where fights were prevalent, SABC radio news reports.

Speaking in Umlazi at a symposium on faction fighting, Chief Buthelezi warned, however, against donor agencies which make political decisions when they decide to support development projects.

He said it was extremely difficult to find support from, for instance, church donor agencies if the money was not channelled through the South African Council of Churches.

He said some donor agencies were deeply committed to supporting the politics of protest, and the last thing they wanted to do was to strengthen rural communities.

Chief Buthelezi said tribal authorities were essential in the social structure of the nation, and had to be kept out of politics.

He said money was poured into the country--for instance, from the American administration--but it was not available in places such as KwaZulu.

He said money was channelled through people opposed to Inkatha, and this generated more resentment, followed by conflict.

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CSO: 3400/483

# SURVEY FINDS BLACK TEENAGERS MORE POLITICALLY AWARE

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 20 Mar 87 p 11

[Article by Michael Chester]

[Text]

**B**LACK teenagers devote far more attention than their white contemporaries to politics and education and are far keener about tracking the news on serious developments in current affairs, according to a nationwide Teencheek survey conducted by Research Surveys.

They are more avid readers of the newspapers and outnumber white youngsters three-to-one as constant viewers of TV newscasts.

All in all, says Mr Bruce Rice, head of the project, black teenagers are much more concerned about the serious aspects of the world around them.

No fewer than 98 percent of black youngsters say educational items should be made a first priority of coverage by the media, compared with 57 percent of whites who rank education as a first concern.

The ratio of black teenagers showing deep concern about their careers — 88 percent of them — was also way ahead of the white ratio.

And the up-and-coming generation of blacks is prepared to be infinitely more independent of parental influence in their views on politics, with 69 percent in total or frequent disagreement with their parents, as against 43 percent of white youngsters.

The quest for knowledge was also found to be greater among black teenagers in matters of health, sex, fashions and avoidance of junk food in their diets.

Though the survey found that three out of four of all teenagers were engaged in sports, when asked to list the recreations that were most important in their lives, the first and foremost in black minds was reading — “showing that the most dominant aspect of young black life is a thirst for knowledge.”

Disagreements between parents and their teenage children on moral and social issues are far more common and much sharper in black families than in white families, according to the survey findings.

As many as 57 percent of black teenagers differ radically with their parents over political issues, compared with 14 percent of their white contemporaries.

Differences on moral issues such as sex and drinking soar to 78 percent in black families against 15 percent in white ones.

Yet the generation gap as measured by the openness of communications between parents and teenagers is nowhere near as wide as sometimes made out, says Mr Bruce

Rice, who headed the research team.

"We were surprised by the closeness of relations, whatever the differences in opinion and outlook on several key topics. Three out of every four teenagers talked about good relationships with their parents.

"The survey mirrors a pretty wholesome lot of youngsters beginning to develop minds of their own or holding firm views on important issues", he finds.

"Believe it or not, most teenagers like their parents as they are. We asked them what sort of changes they would like to see most in mum and dad. As many as 42 percent of the blacks and 35 percent of the whites said: "None".

"There was accord in 82 percent of families about education and career goals and in 76 percent of families on religious issues. And most were in

accord about friendships, general attitudes and social pastimes.

"Even so, when it comes to exchanges of confidences, there is inevitably a small group of teenagers who admit they don't tell their parents anything. Perhaps significantly, this block in communications is four times as common in black families than in white families — about 18 percent compared with only five percent or fewer."

"When it comes to parental discipline, English-speaking parents appear to be far the more lenient. Only eight percent of them are considered by their teenage children as 'very strict', as against 31 percent among Afrikaners and 35 percent of black parents.

"On the whole, South African teenagers — white and black alike — seem to be a well-balanced and happy bunch with very few really major problems in life.

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CSO: 3400/463



TOWNSHIP SCHOOL ATTENDANCE REPORTEDLY BACK TO NORMAL

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 22 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by Sandile Memela]

[Text]

TODAY marks the end of the first quarter of the academic year in township schools – a period that has returned a large measure of normality and progress in black education.

A ray of hope has fallen on black education – parents are less worried about their kids' academic future and teachers have been relieved of fear – to a certain extent – and endemic violence.

The countrywide violence, resistance and arson that has become a feature of black education in the past three years has been replaced by constructive attempts by community leaders and pupils to come up with an education system that accommodates the aspirations of the black majority.

Since the outbreak of turmoil that led to the disruption of normal schooling in the townships 10 years ago, there have been various attempts by concerned people to come up with an alternative education system.

A milestone was reached at the National Education Crisis Committee summit held at Wits University two years ago. The meeting proposed that the solution to the growing crisis in township schools was "people's education".

People's education may appear to be aimed at black people – but it is, in fact, aimed at the educational future of all South Africans, educationists say.

According to its exponents, people's education is fundamentally democratic. "Whatever is decided is decided in consultation with the people affected," said Michael Gardner, former president of Neusa.

At the end of the conference, attended by 161 organisations, a commission was assigned to examine people's education. And this has resulted in the trend of various conferences being convened in an attempt to come up with an alternative education system.

Following the Wits conference, consultative talks between delegates of the African National Congress and 12 leading academics from the University of Cape Town and Western Cape were held in Lusaka.

Participants described the consultative meeting as "already overdue" to exchange views to map out strategies that would lay down the basis for an alternative system of education.

The Council for Black Education and Research has been involved in the search for an alternative education system and has organised a series of lectures on non-formal alternative education.

And teacher organisations such as Tuata recently hosted a conference on "community-based education" in an attempt to come up with a broader concept of people's education.

Only last week, a two-day closed conference was held in Witkoppen by delegates from the private sector and leaders from the black community to explore relevant private sector initiatives to resolve the education crisis.

Almost a year ago, a top-level meeting between educationists and the private sector was held in Witkoppen to discuss "education beyond apartheid" to explore ideas for giving birth to new ideas for truly alternative, non-racial education.

As a result, the feeling of anger and frustration that exploded into violence and arson in black education circles seems to be fading away.

The dramatic change can be attributed in large part to the Azanian Students' Movement – the student-wing of the Azanian People's Organisation – who spearheaded the "return to class" plea earlier this year.

This call came after there was hesitancy and confusion among many township pupils about whether to return to class or not. Most pupils were still on their

way to school or milling around outside school yards after kam - starting time for school.

But the trickle soon turned into a tide - as thousands of pupils countrywide flooded back into classes.

As a result, authorities, teachers, parents and leaders for the moment appear to be relieved at the high attendance and the absence of turmoil at schools plagued by unrest last year.

Though features of the endemic violence are still part of the scene in township schools, the teaching profession appears to be no longer in acute distress.

Amid some of the dilapidated buildings, charred walls, shattered windows and mangled desks lying outside school grounds, one sees enthusiastic pupils gathered in groups - animatedly chatting about current lessons.

Countrywide, class boycotts last year involved over 300 000 pupils, who challenged the imposition of the state of emergency, the detention without trial of large numbers of activists and demanded the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

The areas affected most seriously by boycotts and subsequent conflict were the volatile Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand.

On average, 260 schools out of over 7 300 were disrupted at any one time. The disruptions resulted in the closure of 54 schools. Some have since been reopened.

But in certain circles there is still concern at the slow pace of catching up on lost academic years. At present there are hundreds of students who have been in the same class for at least the past three years.

This plight in black education has forced hundreds of black pupils to seek refuge in multiracial schools in the suburbs. Most pupils who have gone to private schools are those from the upper bracket - whose parents can afford the fees.

Meanwhile, though an atmosphere of normal learning appears to be evident in township schools, a probe into the mood of learning institutions reveals a breakdown of discipline, fear and lack of control on the part of teachers.

Some teachers have disclosed that relations with their pupils were strained and that they were cautious towards them.

They pointed out that some of the pupils still had a negative attitude towards teachers and were hostile. This has aroused fear of victimisation on the part of teachers.

"In no way do I want to involve myself in a confrontation of any sort with pupils - as they are still capable of doing anything to me or my property," said a teacher.

The widespread relief is, therefore, tinged with an acute awareness that pupils' demands have not been met - so there is still smouldering anger and dissatisfaction with the status quo.

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CSO: 3400/474

'SECRET PLAN' TO REVERSE INDEPENDENCE DECISION REPORTED

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 22 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by Derrick Luthayi]

[Text]

THE KwaNdebele government is said to be secretly working on a plan to reverse a majority decision by the homeland's citizens against the acceptance of independence by the tiny enclave.

The clandestine move involves the detention under the state of emergency regulations of all known to oppose the impoverished homeland becoming a "self-governing state".

The plan also includes the removal from high office of all those identified as unsympathetic to the government on the independence issue.

First to get the chop was Health and Welfare Minister Prince Cornelius Mak-

hosana Mahlangu - who was detained at the Siyabuswa Magistrate's Court last week.

Next in the firing line was the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Solly Mahlangu, followed by -- who has been demoted, and six prominent residents who are regarded by the government as anti-independence activists were detained last Thursday.

Among them Sam Skosana, the son of the late Chief Minister Simon Skosana, and Legislative Assembly member Amos Mahlangu.

Others held in Thursday's swoop are former sports inspector E Masango.

(Report by Derrick Luthayi, 204 Eloff Street Ext, Johannesburg.)

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CSO: 3400/474

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BRIEFS

**SQUATTERS GET LAND OFFER**--Squatters at Weiler's Farm near Walkerville would be offered relocation to a site-and-service scheme due for completion within nine months at Wildebeesfontein in the Vaal Triangle, said Chris Ballot, MP for Overvaal and chairman of government's committee on squatters. He said the new scheme would house more than 900 families--the number officials claimed were living on the farm. But a Black Sash spokesman said yesterday there might be many more people living in shacks on the farm. It is now doing a count of families in the area. White Walkerville residents have been putting increasing pressure on politicians to have the squatters removed from the white area. Transvaal Provincial Administration regional director Vic Milne yesterday confirmed that the squatters would be removed and relocated at Wildebeesfontein which would be fully serviced and would house more than 900 families. Milne confirmed SADF members and the police were constantly patrolling the area to control the influx of more families to the farm. Several other families in Finetown--about 5km from Weiler's Farm--have been left homeless after their shacks were demolished by police. Yesterday two more shacks were demolished and the owners were taken to De Deur police station. A police spokesman said the arrested people had occupied the area illegally. They might be charged under the Squatting Act. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 25 Mar 87 p 2] /9317

**SENIOR BLACK TEACHING STAFF GETS TRAINING**--A total of 9 000 senior black teaching staff have undergone management training courses and another 4 000 will be trained in the next two years, said the Department of Education and Training (DET). The programme is designed to help staff cope with the specific problems relating to black education. The management programme, said by DET director-general A.B. Fourie to be "one of the most ambitious management projects of its kind ever undertaken," has been running for the past two years. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 26 Mar 87 p 1] /9317

SOWETANS EARN MORE THAN OTHER BLACKS--A survey conducted by the University of SA's Bureau of Market Research recently showed Sowetans earned higher salaries than blacks in other metropolitan areas in 1985. The survey showed an average income per household in Soweto was R9 624 annually, followed by Pretoria--R9 259, then the East and West Rand at R8 628. It also indicated that the average income per person in the same year was highest among Sowetans at R1 756, followed by the East and West Rand at R1 615 and Pretoria at R1 505. The lowest average income per household was in Bloemfontein at R5 611, followed by Kimberley at R6 102, and Port Elizabeth with R6 518. For Indians, the average household income was highest in Johannesburg at R18 397, compared with R14 217 in Maritzburg and R13 992 in Durban. The highest income per household among coloureds was in Johannesburg at R12 249, followed by Cape Peninsula at R10 358. The survey also revealed a marked drop in the black birth rates in metropolitan areas. [Text]  
[Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 22 Mar 87 p 2] /9317

CSO: 3400/474

AD OUTLINES ADVANTAGES OF VOTING FOR PFP

MB050828 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 5 Apr 87 p 8

[Full page advertisement issued by the Progressive Federal Party; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] I'M GOING TO VOTE PFP BECAUSE THEY'VE HAD THE COURAGE TO PUT ASIDE PARTY POLITICS TO FORM AN ALLIANCE OF MODERATES. [preceding four words underlined]

I'm going to vote PFP because they're bringing talented people together to build a new South Africa.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with them and Wynand Malan that there must be real negotiation.

I'm going to vote PFP because they agree with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's efforts in the Kwanatal Indaba.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with them and Denis Worrall that there should be real power sharing.

I'm going to vote PFP because they agree with Wimpie De Klerk about National Party intolerance of uninhibited political reporting.

I'm going to vote PFP because they agree with the Stellenbosch professors that the Groups Areas Act must go.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Harry Schwarz about the Government's mismanagement of the economy.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Helen Suzman that the detention of children is wrong.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Colin Eglin that the time has come to form an alliance of moderates to replace the Government.

I'm going to vote PFP because I want a new, better South Africa with security for me, security for my family and security for all South Africans.

I'M GOING TO VOTE PFP.

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY REVIEWS CONDITIONS FOR NAMIBIA ELECTIONS

MB030527 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] Nine years ago this month South Africa accepted the proposal made by five major Western nations for a settlement of the dispute over Southwest Africa. Eight months later South Africa accepted United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 as the basis for Southwest Africa's independence. Implementation of both the Western plan and Resolution 435 have been sabotaged by the intransigence of SWAPO and its supporters in Africa and the Eastern Bloc.

Further negotiations between South Africa and other interested parties followed, and in September 1982 Mr P.W. Botha, then prime minister of South Africa, stated that the continued presence of Cuban troops in Angola was the last major obstacle to independence for Southwest Africa. That is largely where the matter has rested in the 4 and 1/2 years since then.

This week, the secretary general of the United Nations, Dr Perez de Cuellar, asked South Africa to abandon her stand on the Cuban troops issue. There are, however, good reasons why the presence of Cuban forces in Angola is a serious obstacle to settlement of the Southwest African dispute. There is consensus that the basis for any such settlement must be a free and fair democratic election in Southwest Africa. The presence of a large alien force of mercenary soldiers just across the border would raise the specter of massive intimidation of voters and even armed intervention across the frontier. This is all the more so given the fact that there is virtual integration of SWAPO, Cuban and Angolan army units in the military campaigns conducted in Angola.

The neutrality of the Angolan army during Southwest Africa's transition to independence can be negotiated bilaterally between Pretoria and Luanda. Any fears that either side might have of aggressive intent on the part of the other could, for example be removed by way of a nonaggression treaty, which South Africa has offered to conclude with any neighbor. With SWAPO actively taking part in elections, that would leave only the Cuban military factor in Angola, and it is a huge shadow that hangs over the independence issue and that must be removed.

The real problem, however, is that the MPLA government in Angola is so dependent on the Cuban mercenaries that their withdrawal would result in the overthrow of the government by the UNITA resistance movement. The first step therefore, would be for the Angolan Government to end the civil war, accommodate UNITA in a national government of reconciliation and dispense with the enormously costly Cuban military presence. It would then be a short step to the long-awaited and long-desired independence of Southwest Africa.

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CSO: 3400/492



SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY ON DETERIORATION OF ANC IMAGE

MB020835 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 2 Apr 87

[Station commentary: "The ANC"]

[Text] A year ago there was a common belief in many countries that the status quo in South Africa was about to be overthrown and that the African National Congress would within a short space of time take over as the government of South Africa. The ANC was seen at that time as the authentic voice of the people of South Africa and of having a legitimate claim to forming the government of the country. Since then that image of the ANC has been considerably dented. Its endorsement of the brutal black on black violence and in particular the barbaric necklace murders has revealed its true colors, that of a terrorist organization.

At the end of last year 34 American organizations joined forces to expose the ANC further. The people of the United States and the world learnt that more than half the members of the ANC's central committee were communists and that its aim was the establishment of a Marxist dictatorship in South Africa. Its barbaric terrorism was also exposed to United States audiences.

Now in Australia, the leader of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, is having a rough ride. He is in Australia at the invitation of that country's prime minister but it is clear that not all Australians share their government's adulation of the leader of a terrorist organization specializing in murder. The mayor of Sydney, Australia's largest city, and 27 of his councillors have refused to shake hands with Mr Tambo. In Sydney and in Perth, Mr Tambo was confronted by demonstrators protesting against the ANC brutality and its Marxist policies. He was denounced as a terrorist on a television program by the chairman of the Return Service League Mr Bruce Ruxton.

In South Africa, meanwhile, the opportunity is there for Mr Tambo to return in peace and negotiate through the democratic process for a new political dispensation for the country. He and the ANC have spurned this. Their commitment remains one of bloodshed and revolution.

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CSO: 3400/492

COMMENTARY ON REVELATIONS OF ANC'S TRUE NATURE

MB060538 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 6 Apr 87

[Station commentary]

[Text] The ANC is well supplied by the Soviet Union with hand grenades, limpet mines and the other weapons of terrorism. But its most powerful weapon in the past decade or two has been that of propaganda. From a string of offices in world capitals, and at the United Nations, it has churned out publications, radio texts and other propaganda material. Its leaders have basked in the [word indistinct] of the mass media overseas and have been given lavish support by many governments, both communist and democratic.

Now, the truth about the ANC is breaking through the wall of propaganda. Last year, 34 organizations in the United States came together to tell their people just what the ANC stands for. Americans were exposed to facts about the ANC: that its declared policy was terrorism, that more than half the members of its central committee are communists, that it wants to establish a Marxist dictatorship in South Africa; that it kills and maims innocent civilians in bomb attacks, indiscriminately murdering both black and white, that it endorses barbaric acts such as the necklace murders.

When he met ANC leader Oliver Tambo shortly afterwards, the American secretary of state, Mr George Shultz, reprimanded the ANC for its policy of violence and for the communist influence within its ranks.

Now, Mr Tambo has been visiting Australia at the invitation of the prime minister, Mr Bob Hawke. Since his arrival in Perth towards the end of last month, he has been the target of demonstrations and protests. The mayor of Australia's largest city, Sydney, and 27 of his councillors refused to attend a reception for him. He was similarly snubbed by a number of parliamentarians. In a face-to-face confrontation, he was denounced on television as a terrorist by the chairman of the Returned Servicemens League. A full-page advertisement in the National daily THE AUSTRALIAN, showed shocked Australians a burning necklace victim.

The true nature of the ANC has been further exposed by revelations that some members of the Tambo entourage are believed to have entered Australia using false identities, in some cases presumably to conceal the fact that they belong to the organization's terrorist wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe [Spear of the Nation].

The ANC will continue to receive support from overseas governments, but the first dents have been made in the one-sided image it and others have presented to the world with such impunity for so many years.

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CSO: 3400/492

MUSLIM COMMUNITY SPEAKS OUT AGAINST APARTHEID

Tripoli AL-DA'WAH AL-ISLAMIYAH in Arabic 18 Feb 87 pp 8-9

[Interview with Muhammad Shir Shawdhari, head of South African Islamic Council and member of the executive bureau of the Federation of Islamic Councils of South, East, and Central Africa, by al-Mahdi al-Jali: "The African Continent Is in Urgent Need of Islam"; date and place not given]

[Text] Identification Card: Muhammad Shir Shawdhari was born in Pakistan in 1938. He studied Islamic studies at the University of Punjab, as well as philosophy and Islamic history. In 1974, he was appointed by his country, Pakistan, to be mufti of the Muslims in Mozambique. He now holds the position of head of the Islamic Council in South Africa and is a member of the executive bureau of the Federation of Islamic Councils of South, East, and Central Africa.

In the furnace of the prevailing political and sectarian conflict in South Africa, Muslims have a prominent role that has come into view during the present decade in the history of the Islamic holy war. Muslims are now sharing in the continuing popular war against racist minority rule, which, no longer content with tearing up the national roots of the inhabitants and legitimate owners of the country, has become deliberately hostile to Muslims and grants every opportunity to Christian missionary organizations to widen the circle of their activity in every city and village. However, Muslims themselves need to review their resources, unite their ranks, cast out the spirit of hollow claims to leadership, and avoid tribalism and individual loyalties.

As Muhammad Shir Shawdhari says, most of those who are called shaykhs immigrated to South Africa from India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh and follow, for the most part, differing sects and factions.

[Question] The Islamic minorities in South Africa, like other Muslims in the remaining parts of the world, doubtlessly face certain problems and difficulties in the phases of their daily life. Can you elucidate this for us?

[Answer] In answering this question, I will concentrate on the problems faced by the Islamic minorities in southern Africa, and in South Africa in particular, because of my thorough experience with that region of the world.

### Proliferation of Opinions and Erroneous Ideas

In reality, we Muslims in the southern African region, which includes Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Botswana, in addition to South Africa, suffer from the problem of a proliferation of opinions and very old erroneous ideas. If I wanted to enumerate these ideas for you, believe me, I would not be able to do so. In any case, merely as an example which does not pretend to be exhaustive, there are many schools of Islamic thought, each with its own standards of behavior, beliefs about Islamic law, method, etc.

There are two schools of Islamic missionary activity: the School of Transmission (tabligh) and the School of Sunnah. From the former, many subsidiary schools branch out. The ideas of the leaders of these schools are based on the ambitions and whims of leaders who are ignorant of Islam, spread internal conflict, and stir up division between Muslims. You will hardly find a mosque in South Africa that is not aflame with conflict and controversy, sometimes ending in physical violence. What kind of religion is it, for God's sake, in which one Muslim does not respect the opinion of his brother Muslim? Is his opinion correct and true, and does he understand the foundations of the faith that derive from the Qur'an, the Book of God--"falsehood comes not to it from before it nor from behind it"? (Qur'an 41:42).

These people, who call themselves "scholars" (ulama'), accept no discussion or debate. They will not even listen to you if you want to talk to them about some of the fallacies they have implanted in the minds of the followers of their intellectual schools and leaders of their mosques and educational institutions.

As you know, most Muslims and those who are called shaykhs immigrated to South Africa from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Most of them follow various sects and factions, with their own books and publications which they publish in these areas of Africa. It is with great regret that I say that these factions and sects, which have nothing to do with Islam, have provided themselves with followers and adherents even at the academic and university levels. This has confused the ideas and minds of the rest of the Muslims, especially new converts to Islam, whom these foolish men have started to impress with their reactionary and destructive ideas, to the extent that some have begun to doubt the truth and clarity of Islam.

One follows al-Hadi, another follows al-Mahdi; one follows Qadiyani, another follows Tijani, etc. All of these designations harm Islam and express infidelity and disobedience.

### Our Hope in Young People Is Great

You may call men to your Islamic faith in any country of the world, but it is no part of the faith for you to call them to a particular sect. Before becoming a missionary, I traveled a great deal. I talked and discussed,

listened and gave lectures. After I became a missionary 12 years ago, I noticed that there is an extremely serious problem: No one today is prepared to listen to you or discuss with you this religion which God wants to prevail over the world. However, our hope in qualified young people is great, the contemporary young people who have turned from material things and have started to search in God's sublime book for what they have lost. We regard them as an auspicious omen, and we have great hope that they will spread God's call clear and pure, untarnished by the distortions of those who are narrow-minded or by the ideas of ignorant and reactionary fanatics; for Islam is a religion of progress, civilization, and freedom.

#### The Islamic World Missionary Society and the Important Role It Performs

On the occasion of this interview, I wish to record my esteem and appreciation for the Islamic World Missionary Society in the great [Libyan] Jamahiriyah. It has performed and is still performing the most important duty that any Islamic organization has performed in the world. I have seen it with my own eyes in that part of the world, South Africa. The organization is coming closer and closer to the Muslims there and is bringing Muslims in that important part of the world together again. It is now working to unite the ranks of the Muslims and strengthen their unity, so that they will work side by side with their African brothers to confront racial discrimination and oppose the rule of the white racists. It has been able to convey true Arabic-Islamic culture to the Muslims there and has supplied missionaries to spread the banner of Islam among citizens of differing social and educational levels.

I say that it is the only Islamic organization--I say this not out of flattery or to gain sympathy--that proclaims the religion of the One, the Only, the Unique, the Everlasting, the religion brought by Muhammad, free of distorted concepts, abstruse disputations, and interpretations foreign to the essence of Islam. It is not like those organization that proclaim special ideas and particular schools and sects.

I have participated in many conferences and symposia held by the Islamic World Missionary Society. What is heartening is that all these meetings concentrated on holding to the spirit of the faith, by going back to the Noble Qur'an, to true Islam. Perhaps the last conference I attended was the third annual conference on Islamic missionary activity, held under the motto: "Perform the religion and scatter not regarding it." (Qur'an 42:13) This motto is clear in its essence.

There are many Islamic organizations that have nothing but a variety of names and no activity worth mentioning. There are a number of reasons for this, the most important of them being material resources and clear goals. However, the Islamic World Missionary Society has every financial and human resource, because the entire Libyan people is behind it and has earmarked part of its money to support this Islamic society.

Through these resources provided by the Muslim Libyan people, the society has been able to establish many Islamic charitable projects and to share in mitigating many of the misfortunes suffered by some countries, such as natural disasters, drought, and famine.

In particular, I have attended many of the conferences that have been held in Africa and have found black Muslims at these conferences expressing with complete freedom and frankness the problems they experience and the difficulties they confront and how the society has shared to the extent of its ability in solving most of the problems and difficulties. God grant it the best of rewards!

Now let me answer the last part of your question, that dealing with the problems of the Islamic minorities in southern Africa. I would say that the problems of the Islamic minorities are hardly different from the Africans' other problems, for they are all living in a country dominated by racism and surrounded by unrest and instability, a country in which the white intruder provokes the black African, the true owner of the land, by stealing his resources and plundering his wealth, while the latter lives on the crumbs that fall to him.

#### Sectarianism Weakens Muslims

All the inhabitants of South Africa, other than the white intruders, confront many and diverse problems. If I were to mention the problems faced specifically by Muslims, I would say that they rest with the Muslims themselves, insofar as they have split up into factions and parties and bow down to the leader of the sect whenever he passes in front of them. Often, the leader of this sect is not of African origin. He may be an Indian, a Pakistani, or a Bangladeshi. His concern may be to gather around himself numbers of Muslims to form a group merely so that he can have leadership, not for the sake of Islam. As for Islam, these people, together with their leader, may not even know its name. As I mentioned before, the Africans are by nature and character good people, trusting everyone. The church and those who make claims to Islam have exploited the social and economic aspects and have begun to spread among them their destructive ideas and divisive partisan sects. They have divided the Muslims into groups and sects, calling them by different names. They have removed from their minds the fact that the religion of Islam calls for unity and mutual help. We are working to achieve unity and love between all--work, self-sacrifice, and offering--and not for their false goals that have caused the Islamic minorities to live in a state of division and fragmentation, led by their sham leaders away from Islam's true goals that were brought by the Prophet, may God bless him and save him.

Thus, the problems of Muslims there lie in their division and fragmentation. If they united, the remaining problems, which are scarcely worth mentioning, would be easy for them. All I can do at this point is to call on the Arab and Islamic countries to contact these minorities by sending missionaries who will launch a war against these sects and parties and unify Muslims around the proposition, "There is no god but God; Muhammad is the messenger of God," following the example of what the Islamic World Missionary Society is now doing in this country that is being fought over by denominations and sects.

## Muslims' Holy War Against White Racists

[Question] The holy war upon which the Africans are embarking against the white racists in South Africa has been closely connected to Nelson Mandela, the well-known African leader. Although we are sure that there are a large number of Muslims who have embarked upon this holy war with their African brothers and who are now in racist prisons, the world knows nothing about them. Why has there been this blackout of the holy war of the Muslims there? Can you explain to the readers of AL-DA'WAH the role of Muslims in this holy war?

[Answer] As I mentioned at the beginning of my talk, most of the Muslims now present in South Africa came there from Asian countries. Without a doubt, there were among them sincere men who at the same time carried on a sacred struggle with true and righteous words and were able to join with their African brothers, the true owners of the land in that part of the world, and to found private schools to teach Islam and the Qur'an, without sectarianism, fanaticism, and partisanship. I want to stress to you that the African continent is in urgent need of the humanity-saving religion of Islam, which provides comprehensive answers to all economic, spiritual, social, and political problems. As you know, Christianity inundated most of Africa. In the absence of Islamic missionaries, the Africans were influenced by Christianity and Western systems. In spite of this, all of Africa is in urgent need of Islam and in need of people to light the way for the Africans, guide them on the right path, and remove the veil from their hearts. They are also in need of people to correct for them the ideas they have embraced and to show them the injustice of Western societies and the tragic flaws of a fraudulent culture empty of moral and spiritual values.

Therefore, they are ready to embrace Islam: a pure Islam, free of distortions and trappings. We made mistakes in regard to Africa, that virgin continent that the Crusaders attacked and where the church preceded us and founded its racist institutions and centers, exploiting an empty field that at the time was in its pristine natural state. Unfortunately--we say this so that the pretenders to Islam will know it--the church was able to succeed and to convert many idol-worshippers to Christianity.

Why should we blame the Crusaders, the Zionists, and the Western systems? They are truly the enemies of Islam. Such being their nature, how can you blame your enemy?

What do you expect the enemy of Islam to do? God has said: "Never will the Jews be satisfied with thee, neither the Christians, not till thou followest their religion." (Qur'an 2:120).

There is the United Democratic Front, which is struggling for the freedom of South Africa. There are Muslim leaders in it. There is the freedom fighter Ahmad Katrada, who is now in racist prisons beside Nelson Mandela.

But Zionist domination of the media in South Africa has blotted out the freedom-fighting role played by Muslims beside their African brothers. In addition, I say that there are many Muslim doctors famous in surgery and



pediatrics, as well as university and law-school professors. Unfortunately, they are not known at the level of the Islamic world because of the cloak of silence the Zionist and Western media throw around them. Thus, Muslims are participating in the holy war for South Africa, whether on the level of armed struggle, or in the war by means of the pen, or in the war by means of knowledge and learning, to manifest the truth and promote the word of God. The Muslims are not neglectful; they are carrying out their role within the limits of their ability. "God charges no soul save to its capacity; standing to its account is what it has earned, and against its account what it has merited." (Qur'an 2:286).

[Question] What effect has the Islamic September 1st Revolution had on the masses of Muslims in the region?

[Answer] I wish to tell the readers of this Islamic newspaper that I have done research into human history. Indeed, it is an honor for me to be living according to the Book of God, the Noble Qur'an. In spite of the hard work and toil, I find pleasure and happiness in research, especially when one finds people who understand their religion and their Qur'an and who apply it on a down-to-earth level and in fact implement it.

This historical study and research took 10 years of my life. I devoted a large part of them to the history-making leaders of the [Libyan] Jamahiriyah, foremost among them the Muslim revolutionary brother, Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi.

I visited many Arab and Islamic countries, including the Jamahiriyah. In all honesty, I found that its leadership, which has made the Qur'an a law for society, is the only leadership in the world that is applying God's path and law correctly and in the best way. Through the action of this leadership, the country has arrived in the arena of progress in this world, having declared war on backwardness and ignorance, and having called for the defense of freedom everywhere and for standing side by side with the oppressed and persecuted, however distant they may be, and whatever their race and nationality. On account of these goals and principles that it has announced, the Jamahiriyah has been subjected to many difficulties and attacks, some military, some economic, and others involving the media.

In view of my complete belief in these principles and goals on behalf of which the September 1st Revolution was carried out, after returning to South Africa following my attendance at the Third Conference on Islamic Missions held in Tripoli during September of last year, I arranged a newspaper interview with one of the well-known newspapers in South Africa, DAILY NEWS, which publishes three editions daily. I did this in order to clarify the real picture of the history-making leadership in the Jamahiriyah, a picture that had been distorted by the Western press, which is dominated by international Zionism.

My interview with this newspaper lasted almost 3 hours, during which time I refuted all the false and misleading statements about the Jamahiriyah. I informed the reader that all the negative things said by the Western press about the Jamahiriyah are lies and biased propaganda. I affirmed to them that Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi is a man characterized by mercy, sympathy, truth, noble

feelings, and humility; he detests terrorism wherever it occurs, and he is one of the few thinkers in our contemporary world.

I gave them an answer to all their questions, most of which were malicious and perverse.

I affirmed to them that this revolution took place for the sake of humanity and to implant human values and principles found in the sublime Book of God, values that drive out partisanship and sectarianism, principles that call for the unity of Muslims in order to confront their common enemy, who is living on their resources and leaving them hungry and fragmented.

These principles and values naturally contradict and oppose the goals of imperialism, Crusaderism, and Zionism, and these therefore have to be combatted by action. The Jamahiriyah has been subjected to various kinds of pressures and plots, even to wars, in a vain attempt to make it abandon these goals and principles.

[Question] The Federation of Islamic Councils is a first step toward uniting the Muslims in East, Central and South Africa. As a member of the executive committee of this federation, what are the steps the council has taken to date on this path?

[Answer] It would be a very appropriate idea on the part of the Islamic World Missionary Society and within the ability of this 24-country council if it were to link its efforts and resolve to play a prominent role in bringing the Muslims together and uniting their goals, so that they might be one force, and so that it would be difficult for their enemies to penetrate them. As your esteemed readers know, Africa in general and the southern and eastern area in particular are being subjected to Christianization campaigns and concentrated destructive movements, all aimed at weakening the power of Islam in the hearts of believers, and exploiting the economic and social circumstances of the people of these regions.

We hope this council will be the rock on which all the plans of the enemies of Islam and the plots of the malicious Crusaders shatter. I think the steps taken to date in this arena are harbingers of the achievement of the council's goals. We hope there will be a federation and Islamic councils for East Africa, and then a federation and Islamic councils for all of Africa. I am certain that the Islamic World Missionary Society, based on its goals, will strive to establish such a council, because of what it means for the future of Islam and of Muslims.

[Question] Is there a final word you would like to say?

[Answer] As you know, the media play a prominent and leading role in spreading Arabic and Islamic culture by means that are printed, read, heard, or seen, and they can be considered a two-edged sword if not used optimally and scientifically in all fields. This is especially true in the field of Islamic missionary activity, given the fact that most of those whom God has guided to Islam are non-Arabs, only a few of whom know the Arabic language. The meaning of the Qur'an and the teachings of Islam must be translated into

their languages. Especially when the translator is not fluent in both the source and the target language, certain erroneous expressions and words may become firmly implanted in the minds of new Muslims as a result of linguistic error, and this confuses their thoughts.

I hope all Islamic bodies and organizations will pay attention to this aspect and choose capable translators for all languages, lest the result be the opposite of what was intended. I pray that God will grant success to those who work in the field of Islamic missions, to the good of Islam and of Muslims.

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CSO: 3404/2

SOUTH AFRICA

PFP'S EGLIN HAILS ALLIANCE OF MODERATES

MB010516 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2313 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Text] Cape Town, March 31, SAPA--The idea of an alternative government based on an alliance of moderates opposed to apartheid had caught on in an unstoppable way, the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said tonight.

Addressing about 600 cheering supporters at an election rally in the city hall here, he said ordinary South Africans were "fed up to the back teeth with the wastefulness, the incompetence and the arrogance" of the government.

The departure must be the first step in creating an alliance of moderate South Africans who, sharing a vision of a stable, prosperous apartheid-free South Africa, can take over from the Nats as the government of South Africa," Mr Eglin said.

The PFP had initiated and nurtured the alliance concept through its electoral arrangement with the New Republic Party and by standing back for independent candidates.

These moves had not been made without risk. "Yet the crisis facing South Africa is such that we have to be prepared to take risks.

"We simply have to be prepared to put the broader interests of South Africa before the narrower interests of our political party. That we have done."

The PFP's idea of a moderate alliance had at first been greeted by polite nods.

"And yet today the idea of an alternative government based on an alliance of moderates opposed to apartheid has caught on in an unstoppable way."

Referring to a statement by the Transvaal NP leader Mr F.W. de Klerk, that the government's plan to give urban blacks voting rights in the homelands had failed, Mr Eglin said that after such an admission, the government should not ask for a new mandate--"it should hold its head in shame and resign from public office."

The government's new "constitutional concoction" based on race would not work and was on the rocks before it was launched.

"The latest Nat plan is not reform--it is merely a modernisation of apartheid in the guise of self-determination.

"Ordinary South Africans are disillusioned with a government which, in spite of 39 years in which to get things right, has succeeded only in getting things wrong--and today rules South Africa without any real plans for the present or any real vision for the future," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Eglin said a new government would have to repeal apartheid laws, abolish discrimination, race classification and the Group Areas Act and replace compulsory separation with voluntary association.

A new constitution would have to be drawn up through which all South Africans could take part in government.

"There is no point in running away from it as the Nats do, from the fact that blacks too will have to be in parliament."

The PFP believed that a federal form of government involving a decentralisation of power, proportional representation, a bill of rights and consensus decisions on important and sensitive issues was important to the needs of South Africa.

Referring to security, Mr Eglin said this was essential, especially in a society that was in a process of transition.

"Action must be taken against revolutionaries who take the law into their own hands and against terrorists who maim and kill.

"The courts must uphold the law and safeguard the rights of individuals.

"But let us remember that law and order and real stability can only be sustained if there is racial harmony based on justice for all in our country. Unless security is based on justice, there can be no security for our country."

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CSO: 3400/492

SOUTH AFRICA

COSATU LAUNCHES LIVING WAGE CAMPAIGN

MB301025 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1022 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Text] Johannesburg, March 30, SAPA--Despite a supreme court ruling dismissing COSATU's application to lift a ban on the union federation's mass rally in Soweto last weekend, the Congress of SA Trade Unions launched their living wage campaign in Standerton without incident.

COSATU's urgent rand supreme court application to lift the government order banning the rally due to have been held at Jabulani Stadium on Sunday, was dismissed with costs.

About 400 shopstewards--representing the Metal and Allied Workers Union, the National Union of Mineworkers, Transport and General Workers Union, Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union and the Chemical Workers Industrial Union--attended the living wage campaign launch in Sakhile Hall.

Addressing the launch, the regional chairman of COSATU (Highveld), Mr Gwede Mantashe, said the living wage campaign was the most important campaign for 1987 and that workers should organise and mobilise in every factory.

Mr Marcel Golding of the NUM said the campaign was "part of the struggle for a better distribution of the country's wealth."

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CSO: 3400/492

SOUTH AFRICA

SOLIDARITY MP LEAVES PARTY; REDDY RESIGNS POST

MB261303 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 26 Mar 87

[Text] The minister of health services and welfare in the House of Delegates and executive member of the Solidarity Party, Mr Ismail Kathrada, has resigned from the party. He will become an independent member in the house and remain a member of the Ministers Council. Mr Kathrada took this step after the Solidarity executive had insisted on his resignation in the light of the party's decision to fulfill its opposition role in the house.

Another Solidarity member of the Ministers Council, Mr J.N. Reddy, who is minister of the budget, has decided to relinquish his ministerial post. Solidarity's decision on its opposition status came after an ultimatum by the speaker of parliament regarding its pact with the ruling National People's Party.

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CSO: 3400/492

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY NOTES LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S IMPORTANCE

MB300534 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 30 Mar 87

[Station Commentary]

[Text] The political rights of urban black people in South Africa cannot extend only to local government and provincial administration. With that acknowledgment by the state president last week, the major focus of future reform was explicitly stated.

Nevertheless, there can be no question of neglecting the continued development of representative authority at the local level. It is there--particularly in a dispensation that is moving towards the greatest practicable devolution of powers to the lowest levels of government--that the quality and nature of democratic participation in all political spheres in South Africa will be most decisively determined.

It is against that background that the recommendations on simultaneous elections in October next year for all local authorities in the country--white, black, Indian, and coloured--has particular significance.

This would not have been the case in the past, when perceptions of municipal government were formed by their minor role in the highly centralized system of government that South Africa has had since 1910. In a period in which even the generally uncontroversial functions fulfilled by elected councils had to be approved by a provincial administrator, there was little interest among those voters who were unconcerned about matters like township development and the provision of services. Polling figures of 25 percent were common.

All that will be changing dramatically in the years to come, and in their own interests voters will have to begin paying closer attention. As instruments of political decisionmaking and executive authority, elected local councils--individually and in regional cooperative bodies--will begin to assume much greater importance in the lives of the people. That has become evident even at this early stage, in the controversies surrounding issues like attendance at cinemas.



But the first big task to be tackled in the new era is evidently that represented by the regional services councils: the coordinated action of local authorities with common concerns in developing, on a scale far greater than anything yet attempted, their entire region. The development of such regions as single entities will both rationalize planning and the provision of services, and the direct efforts to where they are most needed.

The local authorities of all communities in each region will be fully involved, and it goes without saying that the scope of the undertaking will have effects of which their voters will have to take cognizance.

Meanwhile, other important changes will also be taking place, according to Mr Piet Badenhorst, deputy minister of constitutional development and planning. A technical committee and the municipal associations are investigating the devolution of more powers to, and a lessening of control over, local authorities.

The point to departure, says Mr Badenhorst, is maximum devolution of authority to local government to give concrete expression to self-determination at the local level.

Municipal and regional government is the foundation on which a sound governmental system, accommodating the political rights of all up to the highest levels while entrenching the security of minorities, is being built. From now on the results of elections for the local town or city council will have a considerable impact on the future of this country.

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CSO: 3400/492

COMMENTARY PRAISES REMARKABLE WEAPONS INDUSTRY

MB060812 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 6 Apr 87

[Station commentary: "South Africa's Weapons Industry"]

[Text] The United States Government has accused certain countries of supplying arms to South Africa in violation of a mandatory United Nations ban on arms supply. Some of the countries have denied involvement. Whatever the merits of this argument are, it's known that South Africa is able to supply between 75 and 85 percent of her weapons and military equipment from her own factories.

A Johannesburg newspaper, BUSINESS DAY, reports that South Africa is now able to supply all her needs of small arms and has moved up into the manufacture of heavy caliber weapons as well. Tanks, armored cars, mine-proof vehicles, missile boats, and aircraft are all streaming off the assembly lines of factories in South Africa. Composite armor, proofed against all but the most advanced shells, are also being produced in South Africa.

This high level of military self-sufficiency in a country whose dual economy includes a large Third World component is remarkable. Even more remarkable is the fact that South Africa is now the world's fifth biggest exporter of armaments. The establishment of the South African weapons industry was a direct result of the arms boycott. In little more than a decade, the arms boycott was not only successfully overcome but the weapons industry was built up into a major export industry. South Africa is not dependent today on any other country for her military preparedness.

The arms boycott was the first economic action taken by Western nations, in concert with others, against South Africa. Last year, a new round of economic sanctions was introduced by Western countries. It's clear that South Africa is already geared to overcome these sanctions with the same skill and [word indistinct] innovation that so successfully overcame the Western boycott.

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CSO: 3400/492

# ORANJEWERKERS CAUSE TENSIONS BETWEEN BLACKS, WHITES IN MORGENSON

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 20 Mar 87 p 11

[Article by Therese Anders]

[Text]

Tensions are growing in Morgenzon between the Oranjewerkers sect and 3 000 residents of Sivukile, a black location near the town.

The Oranjewerkers make it no secret they want their proposed south-eastern Transvaal white homeland eventually cleared of blacks.

But Sivukile's mayor, Mr Jabulani Makhanya, says the Oranjewerkers "can forget it".

Said the outspoken schoolteacher: "This township was established in 1912 and we're not going to move."

Since the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers (honorary president is Mrs Betsie Verwoerd) was formed in 1980 and began buying land in Morgenzon, the town's black community has been living with the knowledge that the white "homelanders" plan to evict them.

Until now the threat has been nothing more than emotional blusterings in Oranjewerker brochures.

However, residents of Sivukile now believe the Oranjewerkers are using a new tactic — exorbitant water tariffs — to drive the town's black community away.

This has been strongly denied by Morgenzon's mayor, Mr Rudie van Dyk, who is not an Oranjewerker.

Until this year, Morgenzon (white population 500) had a serious water shortage which led to the town council getting a R2,5 million loan to build a large dam.

## HIGH LEVIES

The dam is now full and the small town is ensured of water into the next century. Yet everyone in the town is paying high prices.

Before, water from boreholes was free, but now the town's residents are reeling from high water levies as the council struggles to pay off the loan.

White residents are faced with a R35-a-month stand levy and

usage charge, and Sivukile's management committee is expected to pay R9 000 a month.

"We are being asked to pay about R40 a house a month for exactly nine township taps," said Mr Makhanya.

He says none of the township houses has running water or electricity.

Mr Makhanya said it was impossible for residents to pay this amount as, on the whole, the community was a poor one.

There was much unemployment — exacerbated by the Oranjewerkers' policy of not employing blacks. The average monthly wage for men labourers around town was less than R200. For a women it was less than R50.

He said he had been told by Morgenzon's town clerk, Mr Frikkie Jooste — an admitted Oranjewerker — that the water would be cut off if the account was not settled.

Mr Jooste told The Star he could not dis-

cuss the town's water payment problems as the matter was in the hands of the provincial authorities.

However, Mr van Dyk said water to the township would not be cut.

He declined to elaborate as the MP for Ermelo, Deputy Minister Mr Hendrik Tempel, had agreed to help Morgenzon work out the loan repayment problem.

He did confirm that it was not the municipality's plan to close the township.

He said there were few Oranjewerkers in town — only four or five families.

But according to Ermelo's former MPC, Morgenzon farmer, Mr Louis Rothman: "These Oranjewerkers are causing trouble.

"Their aim is to move the township out of Morgenzon because they don't want any black people in their homeland."

He said this was causing "bad feeling between the black and white communities".

Said Mr Rothman: "I am afraid that something is going to happen here."

Mr Makhanya shared the concern: "There will be riots here if the Oranjewerkers try to drive us away."

Secretary of the Oranjewerkers, Mr Ben van den Berg, was approached for comment, but refused to speak to The Star.

However, The Star has a copy of a letter sent out by Mr van den

Berg to all white Morgenzon residents on February 25 this year.

In the letter he says the Oranjewerkers had an official meeting with the town council late last year when they made their aims known.

These included a land where "only Afrikaners and potential Afrikaners live, work and rule, in contrast to today where the coloured people make up almost 85 percent of the residents of 'ons land'".

The town's mayor, Mr van Dyk, confirmed the meeting had taken place.

"But we didn't give them our blessing. Our council is non-political and we are working for the whole community."

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CSO: 3400/468

GREY AREAS BLACK RESIDENTS FEAR VICTIMIZATION; WHITES FEAR CRIME

Johannesburg THE STAR (Metro) in English 26 Mar 87 p 8M

[Article by Joe Openshaw]

[Text]

Talking to black people about the "grey" areas in Hillbrow, Joubert Park and Berea is like asking Parisians for directions in English. They understand what you want but become suspicious, uncommunicative and unwilling to help.

Security in some buildings is as tight as the lips of flatdwellers and doors do not easily open.

Black people know they live in these areas illegally and, until the promised reform, on sufferance. They fear victimisation and intimidation but, as they point out, if whites do not want them there they must be offered alternative accommodation.

Speaking to white people about the "grey" areas is equally difficult. But those who are prepared to speak make up for the rest: they say these areas have become depressed, crime has rocketed and the quality of life has deteriorated so much that white people are moving out.

Both blacks and whites agree there are more than 35 000 illegal tenants in Hillbrow and blame the landlords for their dilemma and the high rentals charged blacks who have no other place to stay.

Two of the only coloured people prepared to give their names were Miss Gail Phillips (40) and her flatmate, Miss Romina Hartogh (35), both of Lorina Court in Quartz Street, who have been living in Hillbrow and Joubert Park for three years.

They came to Johannesburg from Cape Town to find work and the vast flatland was the only place where they could find somewhere to live.

"We are comfortable here and have spent a lot of money on furniture and settling in. We have nowhere to go to if they move us out," said Miss Phillips, a word processor operator.

**'Safe, comfortable and free'**

Two black women from Port Elizabeth who also share a flat in a Quartz Street building said they felt safe, comfortable and free in Hillbrow although they were paying R410 for their two-bedroom apartment.

"We lived in another Hillbrow building before this where the whites were charged R150 for a flat and we were charged R225, but we felt secure.

"In Soweto we would be unable to move at night and would be charged R150 to live in a garage or one room," said one.

The superintendent of a block of flats in Kotze Street told us blacks, coloured and Indians tenanted his building and there had never been any incidents. These people were quiet and respectable, he said, but he was reluctant to allow us to interview his tenants.

At Highpoint, owned by Anglo American Properties, most of the tenants are black and security is strict. We were not allowed in the building, warned about taking photographs and not permitted to speak to tenants.

With some whites it was different. At Basswood Place, once we gained admittance, we spoke to Mr Daniel Smith-Fourie (42) and Mr Boshoff Muller (37), both employees of South African Airways who said colour was not a criterion but what mattered was the lowering of living standard.

"The corporate body at Basswood Place will not allow blacks to live here. The quality of life would be affected. Some of them live 12 to 14 in one flat, the streets are littered and noise intolerable.

"There should be control in Hillbrow and lower income groups dissuaded from living here," said Mr Smith-Fourie.

Mr Trevor Kitley (47), owner of a cafe in Twist Street said the crime rate had gone up 80 percent since blacks had moved in.

"The glue sniffing 'Twilight Children' romanticised by Mr Alf Widman and the PFP commit burglaries, theft and other crimes.

"Women are not safe walking alone in the streets at night. There is black prostitution and sometimes the noise is unbearable. Whites are moving out," said Mr Kitley.

Outwardly, Hillbrow seemed vibrant, vital, invitingly cosmopolitan and orderly — but, in our quest, we were indeed strangers in a foreign land.

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CSO: 3400/468

# CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS, STATISTICS ON ILLEGALS IN GREY AREAS

Johannesburg THE STAR (Metro) in English 26 Mar 87 p 8M

[Article by Shirley Woodgate]

[Text]

Mr Pik Botha says 45 000 "black" people are living illegally in "white" Hillbrow, a leading Johannesburg National Party city councillor says there are only 20 000 "blacks" in the Hillbrow, Berea and Joubert Park area — but Mr Piet Badenhorst, deputy minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, says he does not want any "grey" areas.

Mr Badenhorst said the Government would crack down on Group Areas offenders, adding that Mayfair and Hillbrow would not be declared "grey" because the "Act makes no provision for open residential areas".

Where complaints were made, "there must be investigations" and he believed the property owners who allowed "illegal" people to live in their premises were the guilty parties.

## RAU REPORT

Two of these statements were issued within the last two days by top NP members. The

third is contained in a report published in January and drawn up by a RAU team that included leading NP councillor Mr Johan Fick.

● Mr Pik Botha's 45 000 figure was suggested during his address at a NP rally at RAU on Tuesday night.

● Mr Badenhorst's statement was in reaction to reports in Afrikaans newspapers that the Government was considering opening certain residential areas in terms of section 19 of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Fick's authoritative survey was published in January by the South African Foundation. His co-researchers were Mr Christo de Coning and Mr Nellie Olivier of the RAU department of development studies, who concluded that a third of the population in the three Johannesburg suburbs was already "black".

PFP MP for Hillbrow Mr Ald Widman said this week that the "Act was unenforceable and

was being openly flaunted throughout the country because the Government has failed to provide sufficient housing for blacks, coloureds and Indians".

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis has labelled Mr Badenhorst's threat to prosecute offending property owners as an election ploy, as the three month's leeway would carry them to well after the May 6 voting date.

Mr Fick's report said "pockets of integrated residential settlement have become characteristic of most of the larger South African cities" and goes on to list 13 "grey" suburbs throughout the country.

## 'ILLEGALS' TOTAL

Johannesburg's Housing Department has estimated that in Hillbrow, Berea and Joubert Park the figure for "illegals" is 9 000 coloureds, 6 000 Indians and 5 000 blacks.

In Mayfair, there are 5 645 Indians, 6 321 whites and 936 people of other non-white groups.

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SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY NOTES SOUNDNESS OF ECONOMY

MB310854 Johannesburg International Service in English:0630 GMT 31 Mar 87

[Station Commentary: "Further Stimulation of the South African Economy"]

[Text] Last week we commented on the soundness of the South African economy, as reflected in the fact that the country was able to conclude a new foreign debt arrangement with creditor banks that was to the satisfaction of all. In the few days since then, there has been further evidence that the economy is moving ahead. South Africa's trade figures for the first 2 months of this year show a substantial surplus.

South African exports in January and February exceeded imports by 3,500 million rand and this despite the imposition of limited sanctions by several of South Africa's trading partners. Of particular significance is the fact that South African exports to Asia rose over the 2-month period by 85 million rand, indicating that the Asian countries are slowly beginning to take the commodities that countries in Western Europe and North America have [words indistinct].

Other indicators that the South African economy is (?spurning) sanctions and disinvestment without [word indistinct] are the rising production of gold, which is by far the country's biggest export earner, and the increase in foreign exchange reserves. Capital investment is in an upswing phase and the increasing value of the South African financial rand indicates an improvement in total investor confidence in South Africa. Unemployment is declining. A survey of 55 companies shows that their profits have risen sharply over a 3-month period. As the South African economy continues to grow, neighboring African states will be among those to benefit. For example, in January and February this year, African countries increased their exports to South Africa by 7 percent.

As South Africa prepares for a watershed election that will define the future shape and face of political reform, the economy is geared to provide a strong foundation for the country's future political dispensation.

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CSO: 3400/383



## SOUTH AFRICA

### RESERVE BANK REPORTS ON 1986 ECONOMY

MB271257 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1222 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] Pretoria, March 27, SAPA--A milk improvement in the unemployment situation had become apparent since the third quarter of 1986, and the inflation rate should drop further, the Reserve Bank said today in its economic review in its latest quarterly bulletin.

Also, the much improved financial results announced by companies from approximately the third quarter of last year, "suggest the period of business consolidation, cost-cutting and retrenchment is drawing to a close and are themselves contributing to a more positive business sentiment".

Although the recent improvement, or drop, in the inflation rate was "largely attributable to purely statistical factors," the decline had clearly been aided by the recovery of the rand's exchange rate.

"The inflation rate stands to benefit further from the more recent advances in the exchange rate in the third quarter of 1986 and in the first few months of 1986."

The bank said the fourth quarter of last year, as in the quarter before, saw a growth in the real gross domestic product at an annual rate of approximately 4.5 per cent.

"Indications, moreover, were that the recovery was becoming more broad based. With the exception of commerce, all major sectors of the economy contributed to the fourth quarter increase in domestic production."

Real gross domestic expenditure, on the other hand, fell back in the last quarter of 1986.

An analysis of expenditure data nevertheless showed "a mild upward trend in domestic spending to have been maintained."

The bank said negative elements in the fourth-quarter configuration of expenditure data included a "marked slowdown, to about two percent," in the annualised rate of increase in real private consumption expenditure from its third-quarter level of about five per cent.

There was also a "continuation of the decline in real government consumption expenditure that had already been evident in the preceding two quarters."

Total gross domestic investment, on the other hand, rose encouragingly in the fourth quarter of 1986, after having bottomed out in the third quarter. "It thereby held out a tentative prospect that a turning point in the prolonged downward phase of the fixed investment cycle may finally have been reached."

Spending in the economy was still subject to inhibitions and constraints which were not normally part of the country's business cycle. "Both investment and consumer expenditure clearly were influenced downwards during much of 1986, as during 1985, by private decision makers enhanced sense of uncertainty and a reluctance to take longer-run views and enter into longer-term commitments."

The bank said households in 1985 and much of 1986 had sought to work down the real burden of earlier financial commitments in the light of, among others, the decline in real household incomes, lower real asset values in the fixed property market despite relatively high rates of inflation, less buoyant prospects for steady employment and promotion, and perceptions of a less favourable outlook for a rise in their real standard of living in the more immediate future.

Looking at 1986 as a whole, the growth rate in real gross domestic product was held down by the faltering of the recovery in output in the first quarter of the year, and did not fully reach one per cent.

Aggregate real gross domestic expenditure advanced by a "modest" one per cent from its 1985 level. Real private consumption expenditure only marginally exceeded its 1985 level.

"Real government consumption expenditure on balance fell below its 1985 level by some 1.5 per cent."

Total real gross domestic fixed investment, despite its quite significant recovery in the second half of the year, nevertheless declined from its average level in 1985 by as much as 16.5 per cent.

The bank said the "stady recovery in aggregate domestic production during most of the 1986 failed to have a major impact on either employment or registered unemployment up to the third quarter of the year.

"A more material improvement in labour market conditions nevertheless became apparent in the second half of 1986.

"Signs of more significant increase in the demand for labour could be observed in the fourth quarter in certain important sectors of the economy."

The bank said the renewed decline in real gross domestic expenditure, in conjunction with continued growth in real domestic production, found expression

in a further rise in the surplus on the balance of payments on current account to no less than R12.9 billion in the fourth quarter of 1986.

The current account surplus for the year as a whole was in excess of R7 billion.

After a mild acceleration in the third quarter of 1986, the 12-month rate of increase in the broadly defined money supply, M<sub>3</sub>, had slowed down again in the fourth quarter to only 9.3 per cent in December and to less than nine per cent in January this year. The increase in the "effective" money supply in 1986 amounted to 18.4 per cent, which was close to the centre of the 16-20 per cent target range set by monetary authorities for M<sub>3</sub>. The bank said a new M<sub>3</sub> target for 1987, ranging from 14 to 18 per cent, had been announced earlier this month.

The central government's budgetary deficit before borrowing and debt repayments for the first 10 months of the 1986/87 financial year had amounted to R5,652 million, mainly because of exchequer issues that ran well ahead of the original budget estimates.

This figure, which also incorporated a part of the effect of government's package of additional stimulatory measures announced in June 1986, was "some 43 per cent in excess of the original deficit estimate of R3,944 million for the fiscal year as a whole."

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## JOHN DEERE VOTES TO STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA

MB271347 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1342 GMT 27 Mar 87

[Text] Johannesburg, March 27, SAPA--John Deere shareholders have overwhelmingly rejected a shareholder resolution asking the company to withdraw from South Africa, the SA subsidiary has announced.

The stay-in-South-Africa vote was taken at the company's annual meeting at the end of last month in Moline, Illinois in the U.S.

Of votes cast, 69 per cent were against the resolution and 17 per cent in favour. Fourteen per cent of shareholders abstained.

At the meeting, the company restated its commitment to advance fundamental change in SA.

The company maintained, "We are an important force for change in Nitel in the province of Transvaal, where we are located, and in nearby Duduza, the township where most of our black employees live.

"Our leadership and financial support have been instrumental in bringing blacks into the economic life of the area."

New York State proposed the withdrawal resolution.

Although a representative of the state commended the company on its South African social responsibility activities, he nevertheless called for its withdrawal.

In its resolution the state submitted it did not believe that selling its shares as a statement of its abhorrence of apartheid would have any effect other than to harm present and future pensioners.

Therefore, New York would not sell its shareholding in Deere SA.

Mr Bill Hubbard, John Deere's managing director in SA, expressed his satisfaction at the results of the voting.

"It's reassuring to see shareholders backing management's long-term commitment in South Africa. It is particularly gratifying in the light of the disinvestment by so many companies," he said.

## 'EXCITING FUTURE' PREDICTED FOR BARBERTON GOLD MINES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 25 Mar 87 p 15

[Article by Teigue Payne]

[Text]

Flexibility of grade to match the exigencies of the gold price and long life make for a formula that appears to give Eastern Transvaal Consolidated Mines an excellent future.

Grade from its three operating mines in the Barberton area varies from 25 g/t to less than 3 g/t. Thus the company can orchestrate its average grade produced to ensure profitability, whatever the circumstances or the gold price, during a life expected to extend well into the next century.

Mr Rodney Yaldwin, analyst for brokers Simpson McKie, concludes after a report on the company that its future prospects appear exciting, with further increases in mill throughput likely as more mineralisation lodes are found.

The company's shares are tightly held, but Mr Yaldwin recommends accumulating them on any price setback.

Richest of the company's mines is Sheba which, according to Yaldwin, has two low grade orebodies (Royal Sheba and Margaret, both 5 g/t to 6 g/t), and the Main Reef Complex and Swartkoppies ore bodies with grade as high as 18 g/t to 25 g/t.

Average production grade in the year ended June 1986 was 17,6 g/t. Because of the complex nature of the ore bodies in the area, ore reserves are not easily calculated, but life of the mine is comfortably more than 20 years.

New Consort mine's mineralisation is in particularly contorted material and its recovery grade averages 10 g/t. Current orebodies can support mining for another five to six years, but exploration may extend this.

Agnes mine's two mineralised fracture zones currently being exploited are near vertical and relatively narrow. The orebodies are low grade, yielding about 3,5 g/t, but working costs are relatively low.

Princeton section, about 4 kg from Agnes, is now being developed and production should begin in 1988, building up to 84 000 tons in that year, with grade 5,5 g/t to 6 g/t, says Yaldwin.

Of the total 351 000 tons treated in 1986, about 45 percent comes from Agnes, 33 percent from Sheba, and 22 percent from New Consort.

Production from Princeton section would more than compensate for any fall in production from New Consort.

According to the company's June annual report, it is investigating the economics of higher production at Agnes.

Working costs at ET Cons mines have historically escalated at a far higher rate than the industry average. Capital expenditure has been, and will remain, high.

The chairman, Mr Rob Wilson agrees that prospects for the company are bright, although not problem-free. A few years ago the mines were on state assistance, a situation which has been dramatically reversed by the higher gold price and improved management.

Mr Wilson agrees with Mr Yaldwin that exploration will always be at a high level, one of the main factors contributing to high capital costs. Substantial capital will be required to expand mining and treatment facilities, he says.

He says parts of New Consort are already very deep and are experiencing heat problems, but a refrigeration plant would not be economic at present gold prices and on known reserves.

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CSO: 3400/472

## FOREIGN OWNED COMPANIES NOT PAYING DETAINEES

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 4 Feb 87 p 8

[Text]

Are foreign-owned companies operating in South Africa better employers than locally-owned concerns? Not if they are to be judged by the way they treat their workers jailed under the state of emergency. The *South African Labour Bulletin* has been monitoring the situation since the emergency came into force in June 1986. A survey of firms in the Port Elizabeth area — the heart of the South African motor industry — found that not a single foreign-owned company in their sample was paying detained workers their normal wages, whereas several local companies had agreed to.

Of the 39 companies in the area approached, 25 reported the detention of one or more worker, 12 reported no detainees and two were unwilling to respond. The 25 reporting detentions included seven foreign companies. But while six of the local firms paid their detained workers full or graduated pay, no foreign-based company did so. Some of the foreign companies paid part-pay to the families of the detainees, but two of the companies were providing no benefits of any kind.

In a separate report, the bulletin detailed individual company policies. The Swiss-based multinational *Roche* is said to have adopted the policy of 'no work, no pay, no penalty' towards its staff, a policy that the company has refused to discuss with the union at its plant. *Mobil Oil* has undertaken to pay detained workers three months' pay, after which the situation will be reviewed. In the motor industry, *General Motors* has agreed to pay its three detained employees full wages, after initially offering to pay half-pay into a relief fund. *Ford*, four of whose workers were jailed, agreed to pay 60% of wages — 30% to the family and 30% to the worker on his release if there is no charge — while *Volkswagen* pay detainees 75% of pay.

*Cadbury-Schweppes*, the British-based food and drink giant, agreed to pay three members of the *Food and Allies Workers' Union* full pay only after international pressure from the British *Transport and General Workers' Union*. **Chris Menzi**, shop steward at the company's plant, is quoted as saying: 'the company were only sympathetic to workers in detention after the British unions had complained'.

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CSO: 3400/472

## BRIEFS

ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT PREDICTED--[Embargoed until 1000 GMT 31 Mar] Cape Town, March 30, SAPA--South Africans can look forward to a period of stable economic growth with moderate improvements in living standards and employment levels, according to the Bureau for Economic Research (BER) at Stellenbosch University. In a report released today the BER foresees a decline in consumer price index inflation to about 15 per cent this year with a "considerably lower" figure possible next year. In general terms, South Africans can look forward to a period of stable economic growth. However, the BER warns that these positive prospects "hinge crucially on the assumption that political stability and reform will continue." The report adds that it is also essential that wages and salaries do not rise at an excessive rate. Real growth in gross domestic product (GDP) is projected at 2.9 per cent and 3.5 per cent for this year and 1988 respectively. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0003 GMT 31 Mar 87 MB] /6662

RANK-XEROX TO SELL--Rank-Xerox has agreed in principle to sell its South African operations to Fintech, a member of the Altron group. In its statement, the American company says a final agreement will be signed by 1 May after the conclusion of certain formalities. It also says all 800 Rank-Xerox employees under the leadership of the managing director, Mr David English, will be retained by Fintech after the signing of the final agreement. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 27 Mar 87 MB] /6662

CSO: 3400/383

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